



392.3 T63

60-06520

Todd

The primitive family as an
education agency

kansas city



public library

kansas city, missouri

Books will be issued only
on presentation of library card.

Please report lost cards and
change of residence promptly.

Card holders are responsible for
all books, records, films, pictures
or other library materials
checked out on their cards.

KANSAS CITY, MO. PUBLIC LIBRARY



0 0001 0342845 4

000000

The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency

By

Arthur James Todd, Ph.D.

Of the Department of Sociology, University of Illinois

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press

1913

COPYRIGHT, 1913
BY
ARTHUR JAMES TODD

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

To

M. G. T.

WHOSE QUALITIES AS COMRADE AND HOME-MAKER HAVE MADE THIS
STUDY POSSIBLE

PREFACE

IT is a truism that an institution can be understood only through its history. The notion of change and development in ideas and institutions is fundamental to any sound science of society. Yet when we attempt to apply this principle to such concrete institutions as say, property, or the family, we are struck with the rigidity of the ideas and sentiments in which they are conceived. The popular mind accepts to a certain extent the general idea of progress and may not stop to bewail the death of the good old times which alone can usher in the new. But let the sociologist or the philosopher suggest that property and the family as we know them were not always so, but, since they are both largely social products, have varied enormously as social needs varied—and the popular mind becomes eminently reactionary. This cannot be, it says; monogamy and private property in lands and goods and women are innate characters of man, were always so, and always will be so. Unfortunately this attitude of mind is not confined to the obviously untrained but lingers with those who have had opportunities for knowing better.

Growing discontent with such static conceptions of social processes prompted the study which follows. On the one hand, we are confronted by cries of alarm

at the imminent dissolution of society owing to the apparent "break-up of the family." On the other, with the demand for a more efficient type of education. The social aspect of the question may be formulated somewhat thus: Can the family change its form and function without permanent injury to social stability and welfare? The educational question takes this form: If the family has heretofore been the basic educational agency but is losing its educational efficiency, can we devise a more adequate type of education with other social institutions predominant in its foundations?

Whatever the answers to these questions, it is evident that a sound notion of certain typical social institutions is essential to the educator who would make education a vital factor in a conscious program for further social development. It is equally evident that some acquaintance with the history of present institutions—and notably the family and the school—is necessary to illuminate the present crisis in family life. A review of the domestic life of our forbears really yields abundant cause for gratification at the enormous distance we have traveled and at the comparative stability and harmony of modern family life. Such phases of primitive domestic life as promiscuity, group-marriage, trial-marriage, the trifling grounds for divorce, absence of chastity, infanticide, and other forms of parental neglect and cruelty, lack of filial piety, hazy notions of kinship, etc., are milestones worth while recalling if for no other reason than to measure our progress.

Hence in the general conclusion of our study we can face squarely and with the utmost optimism the fact

that the family has changed its form and function many times in the course of its age-long evolution. The indications are that it is changing now and will continue to change in response to changes in general social needs and in the alignment of social institutions. Neither is there anything disconcerting in the fact that the family never has been the type and foundation of all education. If, owing to changes in the industrial and religious world, the family is losing much of its educational significance, this simply means that we must find other sanctions and other bases in its place. From the very fact that the family in times past has shown itself so variable and flexible, are we not warranted in looking for such new adjustments in its form and content as to make it an increasingly valuable social institution?

In the preparation of this work I have had constantly in mind two classes of students: those who were looking for an outline sketch of the early evolution of the family; and those who, with myself, have felt the all too obvious lack of materials illustrating methods and organization of primitive education. Histories of education must fill up the gap now usually left, and pay more respectful attention to primitive education. Because a thing is primitive does not mean that it is to be overlooked or despised. Its sympathetic study may reveal unsuspected treasure. Witness only the revival of dancing in our most modern schools: as I have herein shown, dancing was not only one of the chief subjects in the primitive curriculum, but was one of the most effective agencies for social control; the protagonists of dancing would greatly strengthen their arguments and their methods by a study of their savage predecessors.

Other elements in the modern curriculum might profit similarly.

It would be impossible in this place to acknowledge fully my indebtedness to the many friends who have offered encouragement and help in the course of this work, and who have shared the drudgery of reading manuscript and proof. I must, however, offer a tribute to the memory of the late Professor Sumner, whose monumental collection of ethnographical notes has been made accessible through the courtesy of Professor A. G. Keller of Yale University. Thanks are due also to the authors and publishers who have courteously granted permission to quote freely from their books. My bibliography attests in part the indispensable aid which I have received from those "silent partners," whose works are enumerated.

A. J. T.

URBANA, November 18, 1912.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	00
<small>CHAPTER</small>	
I INTRODUCTORY	I
II PRIMITIVE MARITAL RELATIONS	11
(1) Promiscuity and Group Marriage.	
III PRIMITIVE MARITAL RELATIONS	33
(2) Trial Marriage, Divorce, Polygamy.	
IV PRIMITIVE NOTIONS OF KINSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP	55
V PRIMITIVE PARENTAL AND FILIAL RELATIONS	91
VI AIMS AND CONTENT OF PRIMITIVE EDUCATION	141
VII METHODS AND ORGANIZATION OF PRIMITIVE EDUCATION	181
VIII GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	226
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	231
INDEX	243

The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Forces in Education.—Education in its broadest and best sense is an organic process. At the same time it is also a *result*, the sum of an infinitely complex set of forces, many of which are controllable, some of which are not, at least not yet. But it is the manipulation of the controllable elements in man's environment which has raised him out of beastdom and savagery to his present more promising level. If he shall continue to rise he must continue to manipulate. But just which of the forces and influences that make up the total of his education are the variables which he can and must control? There is the rub; there we get entangled in a mesh of diverse opinion. Yet there is the most vital and practical problem of human life which you and I as teacher, parent, statesman, philanthropist, must face and work out vigorously and in all honesty. Which are the supreme forces in a man's education? Experience? His own instincts?

His family? Religion? Life in society? Each and all of these have been urged. For the present we propose to consider the claims of the family as an element in education, though naturally enough it will be impossible to isolate it utterly from the others.

The Family the Fundamental School?—In a protest formulated against the proposal of the Federation of Women's Associations in Germany (1900) that the government should undertake the systematic development of kindergartens and found training schools for kindergarten teachers, Herr Beetz of Gotha drew up a series of propositions which represented the attitude of the old conservative schoolmen. First on the list occur the following:

"A—I. (a) The history of civilization proves the family to be the basis of all moral development. The family is the first, most natural, and most indispensable place of education—not only of the children, but also of the parents.

(b) The kindergarten encroaches, without justification or understanding, on these inalienable rights and duties, and thus injures the moral training of individual children, and also hinders the progressive moral development of the parents.

2. (a) Sociology shows the family to be the foundation of the state. It is the first and most important source of national strength, physical, intellectual, and moral, in all its struggles—internal or external."¹

At first sight we might have been inclined to let pass the first two of Herr Beetz's propositions; but the third, in spite of its axiomatic ring, tends to cast

¹ *Educ. Rev.*, xx., 323-4.

suspicion on the validity of the others. For, as a matter of fact, sociology repudiates the conclusion which Herr Beetz imputes to it. If sociology has done nothing else, it has at least shown the enormous complexity of the social process and demonstrated that it lends itself to no such *simpliste* explanation as this gentleman offers. But this is simply a fair sample of the deliverances of that class of persons for whom the long and short of education is the maintenance of the present order; and should be taken not as educational nor social law and gospel but merely as a partisan program with all its limitations and half truths. But unfortunately for the free and honest study or discussion of educational problems, this very conservatism and partisanship are all too common. Our own land is by no means free from them. It is not so much partisanship, however, as mere perfunctory "rounding-out" of the subject that has led certain writers of educational texts to generalize somewhat broadly and hastily on the subject of primitive education. Take, for example, Professor Monroe's dictum:

"The fundamental social institution itself—the family—is in the earliest times the sole educational institution."²

No less summary is this sentence from Professor Bagley's *The Educative Process*:

"In the most primitive forms of human society, the home is the sole agency of formal education, involving, in addition to the fundamental functions just mentioned, conscious instruction in whatever crude arts of hunt-

² *Hist. of Educ.*, 6; cf. Munroe, *The Educational Ideal*, 231.

4 Primitive Family and Education

ing and warfare the adult members³ of the family may practice."³

Other examples of what might almost be called the family superstition in education might easily be culled from pedagogical classics still in enormous vogue; for instance, this from Pestalozzi: "a man's domestic relations are the first and most important of his nature"; "it is the domestic virtues which determine the happiness of a nation . . . the home is the true basis of the education of humanity. . . ."⁴

The Problem.—Perhaps then it may not prove a gratuitous task, nor "barren scholarship," to undertake an investigation of the educational function of the family in ethnic society, to ascertain whether or not "the family is the first, most natural, most indispensable agency in education," etc. That this is not an idle question, or of purely scholastic interest, is abundantly proved by the experience of nearly every one who has to deal publicly with children. Every superintendent of schools called upon to discipline a child or administer compulsory attendance meets some irate parent who orders him to halt with the formula, "This is *my* child, I can do with him as I like." Every judge, probation officer, humane society agent or director of an institution for children has been confronted with the same indignant outburst. Even

³ *L. c.*, 26; cf. Laurie, *Pre-Christian Educ.*, 7; Chamberlain, *The Child and Childhood*, etc., 234; T. Davidson, *A History of Education*.

⁴ Baron de Guimps, *Pestalozzi, His Life and Works*, N. Y., 1890, p. 77; Misawa, *Modern Educators*, 125; Barnard, *Pestalozzi and His Educational System*, 665-6, 716; cf. Herbart's *Outlines of Educational Doctrine*, 318 ff.

more strikingly does it crop out in connection with child labor and factory inspection laws. In fact, wherever church, or industry, or other organizations are attempting to exploit the child and will brook no public interference, there one is sure to find the parent trotted out as the supreme and final source of all authority over the child. That the superintendent of a great city system of schools could say, "Parents are the child's worst enemies"; that Holland could fight fifty years over the rights and place of the private school in the public system—a question almost wholly of parental rights; that a church-directed assault is going stormily on now in France against the public school in the name of *les droits du père de famille*: such facts signify that the family in education is not a dead issue. The assumption of the family's primacy in education is not infrequently based on just the argument that the savage gives for his customs: "We do not know why, but our fathers did so, and we can do no other." The common run of mankind are quite willing to rest upon this form of reasoning and to believe in the divine institution of the family—if not in its daily working out!—especially if sufficient political or ecclesiastical pressure is applied. But even granting the validity of this appeal to the fathers—after all not an altogether displeasing form of ancestor worship—we should like to know what our fathers actually thought and did about the matters concerning which their authority is invoked. The parent appeals to history to justify his "right to his own child"; the church appeals to history in defense of family rights when it desires to impose its own exclusive will upon

6 Primitive Family and Education

both child and parent (quite forgetting such texts as Matthew x., 35, 37; xxiii., 9; Mark iii., 31-5); the lawyer invokes the sacredness and antiquity of the family in his efforts to block the court's attempt to separate a child from a pestilential home and give it a chance for life in a decent environment. The only way to deal intelligently with such contentions is to meet them on their own ground, and to ascertain what actually has been the nature of the familial and parental relations, what actually has been the educational contribution of the family; whether it has any divinity other than that acquired in its evolution. Such are the questions this study tries to answer. The facts offered in good faith can only be used, however, by those who rest their judgment on evidence and not on dogma.

Methodology.—In the working out of such a problem much depends upon the methods employed. We might begin, it is true, with a deductive argument based on genetic psychology, and might draw valid conclusions as to primitive psychology without becoming committed absolutely to the recapitulation theory. A better method of procedure, however, seems to be this: to reconstruct, if possible, a view of primitive society; and to examine the various forces, institutions, conditions, operating in that society, which could contribute to such a process. The problem of the present study is to determine what part the family played in this process of education. It will be our first business, then, to determine the relation of the family to society as a whole in primitive times. By deduction we ought to be able to estimate its power

as an educative instrument. This will constitute the first chapters of our study. Lest the results thus obtained should appear intangible and barren, it is proposed to attack the problem also inductively. Ethnography should yield materials for a comparative study of mind in the making. The relation of parent to child, parental affection, parental neglect and cruelty, filial respect, family teaching, tribal discipline, etc.,—all these are vital matters bearing on the family as an educator. A conclusion drawn from such data should have great bearing on the deductions previously made, and should knit up the whole argument into a reasonable affirmation.

Perhaps a word should be added as to the methods pursued in the handling of ethnographic materials. While the prime purpose of this study is educational, much of its matter must be drawn from the stores of anthropology and ethnography. In drawing upon and using such stores, I have constantly been aware of the dangers involved and have endeavored to employ all due caution in interpreting the data. Reference will be made in the proper places to current criticisms upon the validity of certain data and methods. But at the outset it may be well to mention two or three general cautions against pitfalls likely to entrap the student. In the first place, the method of "survivals": while I have adopted the evolutionary theory in ethnology and believe that the "degeneration" theory of the modern savage is altogether unsound, yet it is by no means evident that every tribe of savages is a survival and to be taken as a fair sample of primitive man. There is much truth in Mr. Talcott Williams's criticism of this

8 Primitive Family and Education

method and in his theory of "pressure" to account for certain low grade cultures.⁵ Nor is Sir Henry Maine's caution against imputing antiquity and generality to certain modern savage practices, which are rather lapses than universal traits, lightly to be disregarded. Further, and this with particular reference to primitive "mental outfit," we might record as sage advice a remark of Mr. Dudley Kidd in his charming book on savage childhood:

"As a matter of fact, there is nothing savages—and even savages high in the scale—think less about than the topics which fill modern works on anthropology or ethnography. The Kafirs might talk for five consecutive days about a calf that had died, but they would not talk five consecutive minutes about evil spirits, nor for five seconds about that delight of some writers, the evil eye."⁶

Yet these cautions are directed rather against the abuse than the careful use of current methods. A reading of the argument which follows should show whether these methods have been used with discretion or not. Finally, it has not been found practicable to use any close statistical method, from the difficulty in getting strictly comparable units.

Primitive Mind.—For reasons of space we are compelled to omit from this study a detailed account of the more characteristic traits of primitive life. We must content ourselves, therefore, with the merest catalogue of those phases of primitive life and thought

⁵ "Was Primitive Man a Modern Savage?" in *Smithson. Rep.* 1896, i., 541-8. Cf. Mr. J. R. Swanton's vigorous criticism of current methods of determining what is and what is not "primitive" in anthropology.—*Amer. Anthropol.*, x., n. s., 457-9.

⁶ *Savage Childhood*, 146.

which bear upon the present topic. Among these must be noted the bareness and uncertainty of savage life; for despite eighteenth-century philosophizing, the savage is neither free, nor "happy" in any adequate sense of the word. Perhaps the most striking character of primitive life is the narrowness of its range of interests. Most of the savage's attention, hence his education, focused on his stomach; yet we must beware of censuring unduly his belly-philosophy or his indolence, for, as Professor Ward reminds us, the world has not yet reached a stage where the physical and temporary interests of mankind have not been in the ascendant. The "mind of primitive man" has been for half a century the football of ethnographers and sociologists. Is his mind the same as, similar to, identical with, the equivalent of, or absolutely different from our own? Has he any mind to speak of, or are his mental powers really superior to those of civilized men? A pretty insubstantial web of fallacy has been woven about these points. For my own part I hold the savage mind to differ quantitatively and qualitatively from our own. The differences are due, first, to different modes of conceiving experience (as MM. Durkheim and Levy-Bruhl have ably shown); and second, to differences in the cosmic and social environments. After all, these two differences reduce to one, since it is impossible to mark off man absolutely from his environment. But the quality of savage mind which perhaps most profoundly illuminates our subject is its hazy sense of personality, the difficulty it experiences in marking off its "self" from other selves; in other words, the absence of sharp dualisms. This

is revealed in creation myths, in primitive notions of kinship and relationship, in the almost universal savage belief in metamorphosis, in the savage's identification of "self" with the name, shadow, dream-self, "likeness," clothing and other property, feces, etc. It also comes out clearly in savage zoömorphism, which we consider more fundamental than anthropomorphism and animistic religion. Certain mimetic funeral rites once common and found still in Russia offer interesting evidence of this dim sense of personality. And the widespread belief in "possession" by good or evil spirits further confirms the principle.

It must suffice, then, to posit the narrow range of primitive life interests, the inflexibility resultant from this circumscribing of interest, with its concomitant an apparent, though only apparent, indolence and inattention; the childlikeness of primitive mind, manifested, for example, in improvidence, volatility, feeble powers of memory in general, and lack of self-control; the "superstition" of savagery, which we might easily show to be but incomplete science; a general dullness of savage sensibilities; a meager sensory, and therefore conceptual, range; finally, a very hazy notion of "self" or "personality." With these points in mind we pass now to the organization of the primitive family.

CHAPTER II

PRIMITIVE MARITAL RELATIONS

I. *Promiscuity and Group-Marriage*

Economic and Biological Basis of the Family.—The family is a strictly pragmatic institution both in origin and development. It is rooted in physiology, economics, and the *mores*. The preponderance of one or other of these elements is determined largely by the culture status of the people in which the particular form obtains. It is divine only in the same sense that language, or art, or the human mind, or natural selection is divine. It is sacred for the reason that it is a form in which human activity has been moulded to the advantage of the race, and for no other. Its origin was prosaic enough. In the beginning it was not a refuge, an ark of peace and contentment, a shelter from the world, a center of æsthetic enjoyment, or even a sure recuperative arrangement. It was simply and solely an improved bread-winning and breeding device, whereby man might increase his brain capacity through economic leisure. Whatever of poetry and idealization attaches to the family nowadays has been won only through long cycles of experience, during which the intelligence and feelings of men have developed to the

point that they are able to read new meanings into old forms. This is only another example of the institution evolving along with other institutions and reflecting their changes. For we are not to imagine that the family has persisted from the beginnings in its present apparently fixed form. On the contrary, it has varied widely, and will probably continue to vary. Morgan well said, "It must advance as society advances, and change as society changes even as it has done in the past."¹ Much of the turgid eloquence which has been inflicted upon us in the name of discussion of the family would have been spared had the champions of one or another view based their arguments on a study of the entire social systems forming the matrix of the family institution, instead of resting upon *a priori* theories and an attempt to justify them by the analytic method. It is evident that the family in the course of its evolution has served a variety of human needs, according to special local requirements. It is also probable, if our estimate of primitive mind be correct, that the family was differently regarded according to the different conceptual systems surrounding it.²

The Family the Social "Cell"?—The social service of the family in human evolution is indubitable, though I am inclined to suspect that the emphasis

¹*Ancient Society*, 491.

²Caution must be observed in using anthropological data relating to the family, for, as Gomme points out, when we are dealing with savage society the terms family and tribe do not connote the same institution as with us (*Folklore as an Hist. Science*, 236); cf. Schrader, *Prehist. Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, 396: "It seems, therefore, almost impossible to establish a primeval term for the concept 'family.'"

laid upon it in Mr. Fiske's theory is excessive; and that it is by no means so certain as he would have us believe that the family has been *the* motivating force in prolonging human infancy or *vice versa*, and hence *the* motivating force in mental and social evolution. This brings up the whole question of the relation of the family to society. Is it true, as it is currently asserted, that "the family is the most ancient and sacred of human institutions"? Or is there any basis for the stock generalization that the family is the unit of societal life, and the parental relation the germ of organized society? Or are we any nearer the truth if we insist that social life is the source of the parental bond and of the family? Dozens of citations bearing on both sides of this controversy might be adduced; we shall content ourselves, however, with only two typical statements. The first from Mr. Fiske:

"But with our half-human forefathers it is not difficult to see how infancy extending over several years must have tended gradually to strengthen the relations of the children to the mother, and eventually to both parents, and thus give rise to the permanent organization of the family. When this step was accomplished we may say that the Creation of Man had been achieved. For through the organization of the family has arisen that of the clan or tribe, which has formed, as it were, the cellular tissue out of which the most complex human society has come to be constructed."³

³"The Meaning of Infancy," Essay xii., in *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, 289; cf. *id.* "Outlines of Cosmic Philos.," chap. xvi., xxi., xxii.; Maine, *Ancient Law*, 3d. Am. ed., 121; Espinas, *Les Sociétés Animales*; Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marr.*, 50; Sutherland, *Origin*

The second we choose from Bücher's *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*⁴:

"Recent ethnographers have been at great pains to show that mother-love is a universal trait existing at every stage of culture. Indeed it goes hard against the grain to deny to our own kind a feeling which we see so charmingly expressed in many species of animals. Yet only too many records are at hand to prove that the psychic bond between parents and children is first and foremost a fruit of culture (*eine Frucht der Kultur*), and that among the lower peoples the barest care for self-existence outweighs all other mental operations; indeed nothing beside it exists (*überhaupt nichts vorhanden ist*)."

Before going farther we should raise a word of

and Growth of the Moral Instinct; Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, i., 75; Groos, *Play of Man*, 334; Schrader, *Prehist. Antiq.*, 393; Darwin, *Desc. of Man*, i., 77, says guardedly: "The feeling of pleasure from society is probably an extension of the parental or filial affections; and this extension may be in chief part attributed to natural selection, but perhaps in part to mere habit." See also Michelet's charming tribute to the family in his little book, *Nos Fils*; also the Encyclicque "Rerum Novarum" of Pope Leo XIII; Comte, Le Play, Schäffle (*Bau u. Leben* i., 66), L. Stein (*Die Sociale Frage*, etc.), René Worms (*Organisme et Société*) all make the family the cell, or the seed, or the unit of Society. Spencer calls it the *ancient* social unit as opposed to the modern notion of the individual as the social unit; see also J. Decorse, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvi., 652.

⁴ 2 Aufl., 19. Other expressions, such as "grenzenlose Selbstsucht," and "Der Wilde denkt nur an sich," occur; Steinmetz attacks this view in his "Verhältnis zwischen Eltern u. Kinder" (*Ztschft. f. Socialwissenschaft*, i., 607-31); see also Giddings, *Prim. of Sociol.* (1896), 229; Lippert, i., 70; Gomme, *l. c.*, 236-7; Jevons, *Intro. to Hist. of Religion*, 195; Solotaroff, in *Am. Anthropol.*, xi., 231-2; Barth, *Die Philosophie der Geschichte*, etc., 377-84; Cosentini, *La Sociologie Génétique*, chap. viii.; Eleutheropulos, *Soziologie*, 38-53; Zenker, *Die Gesellschaft*, ii., 53-8; Loria, *La Sociologia*, 90 ff.

protest against the manifest exaggeration of self-interest ascribed by this writer to primitive men. Is it true that "all primitive men are egoists"?⁵ No; if true at all it is only half true; for the moment one utters the word "men," he is committed to a belief in man as a societal product, and social life is only possible as some form of coöperation, however crude, tones down man's supposedly invincible egoism. No man can be a strict-construction individualist and remain man. He is inevitably a compound of self and other-self. And the instinct for service or sacrifice is just as fundamental, just as "natural," as the instinct for self-preservation. The needs of the developing organism and its *milieu* determine when and how these tendencies or instincts shall appear.

"Contact" Theory.—Such variances of opinion reveal the inherent weakness in the attempt to establish hard and fast *causal* relations between social phenomena. It is probably true that neither did the family grow out of society, nor is society a mere extension of the family relation; but that both arose concurrently out of some primeval tropism. Physiologists describe the tendency of insects to burrow themselves into the soil for protection, to get under a bit of stone or clod of earth; the feeling of contact with the solid substance begets a sense of safety and well-being. It is not unlikely that such a procedure might develop into some such crude manifestation of sociability as that of sheep or cattle which bunch themselves closely together in times of danger, or in times of pleasurable rest. Why should not this crude sociability have survived in human gregarious-

⁵ McGee in *Rep. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, xix., 830 ff.

ness? Why should not the safety-contact and the pleasure-contact unite to produce such a social instrument as the bond of mother and child, or of husband and wife? I am disposed to refer both the parental and the social bond to some remote manifestation of contact pleasure, the more so from observation of the large part which this element plays still in human relations. Mr. Stephen Phillips puts this exquisitely in his "Marpessa":

"And I shall sleep beside him in the night
And fearful from some dream shall touch his hand
Secure; or at some festival we two
Will wander through the lighted city streets;
And in the crowd I 'll take his arm and feel
The closer for the press. So shall we live."

Crawley bases his whole study of marriage on a theory of contact but works it out to conclusions which we cannot accept in their entirety. He says:

"Ideas of contact are at the root of all conceptions of human relations at any stage of culture; contact is the one universal test, as it is the most elementary form, of mutual relations. Psychology bears this out, and the point is psychological rather than ethnological. . . . In this connection, we find that desire or willingness for physical contact is an animal emotion, more or less subconscious, which is characteristic of similarity, harmony, friendship, or love. Throughout the world, the greeting of a friend is expressed by contact, whether it be nose-rubbing, or the kiss, the embrace, or the clasp of hands; so the ordinary expression of friendship by a boy, that eternal savage, is contact of arm and shoulder. More interesting still, for our purpose, is the

universal expression, by contact, of the emotion of love. . . . Again the pathology of the emotions supplies many curious cases, where the whole being seems concentrated upon the sense of touch, with abnormal desire or disgust for contact . . . contact not only plays an important part in the life of the soul, but must have had a profound influence on the development of ideas, and it may now be assumed that ideas of contact have been a universal and original constant factor in human relations and that they are so still."⁶

Interrelation of Family and Society.—We may assume, then, that the most inevitable social relation in the beginning must have been that simple form of mother and child. The Pithecanthropos or some still more remote ancestor was *member* of his mother before becoming that of any horde or group whatsoever. Man may or may not have lived in hordes; that is a matter for speculation; but he was *mothered*, at least before birth. As often remarked, maternity was a fact, paternity a presumption. Civilization is certainly not based on "family-sense" or "family instinct," but rather on the biological relations between mother and child. Yet having said this much what have we said? It would be completely begging the question to go on to assert that from the fact of maternity springs the whole crop of social relations with their infinite variety and complexity. To insist on the fact of maternity is by no means to insist on its unique importance, either genetically or universally. It is an idle question after all—the priority of any one social relation. We know that the family, at least in this rudimentary form, was inevitable in the scheme of

⁶ Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 76, 77, 78.

things. We also know that the larger group life existed and was perhaps equally inevitable. Experience justifies the induction that without either the race must have perished.⁷ With children as with republics it is vastly easier to beget them than to maintain them. It is easy to see what would have happened to the begetting or parental function without the maintaining and sustaining aid of the group life. Further, we know that often the group interest prevailed over the family interest and that children were sacrificed for "the advantage of the whole." How much sense of tragedy was mixed with this grim practical logic we do not know. Even when the family took on a more fixed and enduring form by including the father, still the physical bond of mother and child was invaded and overridden by the group bond and infanticide was commonly practiced. The two instincts of self-maintenance and self-perpetuation were in constant conflict, and remain so to this present day. The family represents a variable compromise between the two.⁸

The Family a Social Institution.—We saw a little while ago that the family is rooted in physiology, economics, and the *mores*. Its origin is to be found in the necessities of infancy and the food-quest rather

⁷ On the independent, or interdependent, growth of family and tribe in primitive society, see Morgan, *Anc. Soc.*, 227; Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, 276; Helen Bosanquet, *The Family*, 336; also Howard's summary of Hellwald's views in his *Hist. of Matrimonial Institutions*, etc., i., 59; Posada, *Théories Modernes sur les Origines de la Famille*, etc., 91, 99, 119, etc.

⁸ Professor Sumner held that interests of parents and children are antagonistic, just as the dead were and are still antagonistic to the living.

than in the pleasures of marital comradeship. Love played little or no part in it.⁹ Its forms and above all its duration are to be ascribed to other contingencies, notably property, or force on the part of the male. Before going farther we should sound a word of caution: the "pairing instinct" (*i. e.*, an instinct for *monogamous* pairing) is a flimsy and dangerous foundation for a serious argument for marriage and the family. Pairing instinct there may have been, and in the sense indicated, but like most other human instincts it was only vague and more or less unformulated until eked out by a long process of education through other social forces and institutions; in other words, the pairing instinct would have come to naught had it not been aided by organic selection. Hence we are no better off than if we merely say man has acquired the habit of sexual pairing and developed a system of permanent marriage based upon the family. The almost universal practice of polygamy (including prostitution) indicates that man has by no means yet attained perfect pairing. Nor would he ever reach it save by aid of social heredity. The family, then, is a social not a natural institution, for the primary impulses of both man and woman are against it, in the sense that their satisfactions do not require it, nay, are even repugnant to it. On the other hand, it was not a contract any more than primitive society was contractual

⁹ Indeed not infrequently love was regarded with suspicion as an element in matrimony. The ancient Finns, *e.g.*, chose Lempo, the "Son of Evil" to look after the feelings of the heart, "because they regarded love as an insufferable passion, or frenzy, that bordered on insanity, and incited in some mysterious manner by an evil enchanter." (Crawford's transl. of the *Kalevala*, Preface, p. xxiii.)

in origin. It was simply a more or less unconscious attempt to solve that group of life problems connected with self-maintenance and the perpetuation of the species.¹⁰

Definition of Family.—Some one may be wondering why we have so far avoided defining the family. The reason is fairly obvious. *The family, like society, is a variable relation not a fixed thing, and can only be defined in terms of genesis and function.* Its genetic side has already been touched upon; the remainder of this study is an attempt to set forth certain of its functional phases. In passing we might remark that Aristotle's definition is of little assistance. When he tells us that "The family is the association established by nature for the supply of man's everyday wants," we might justly reply, so is society in general, so is the state, so is the industrial organization. And other formal definitions are open to similar objections. It is no less difficult to say what is the "normal" or "average" family. We are constantly warned against attempting to deduce the normal from the abnormal or aberrant. But as Lippert justly remarks, men have always held their own to be the normal human familial organization.¹¹ We must be more catholic and sympathetic if we would understand social evolution. We must be prepared to deal fairly even with "absurdities" and "abominations."

¹⁰ Fustel de Coulanges makes *religion* the constructive principle of the ancient family. "La famille antique est une association religieuse plus encore qu'une association de nature." This side of family organization we include under the *mores*.

¹¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, i., 2 (Jowett); Lippert, *Geschichte der Familie* p. iv.

Family Precedes Marriage.—Most writers on primitive society head their discussion of self-perpetuation, "Marriage and the Family." This is more euphonious, no doubt, but less logical, for in the order of development the family comes first. Some form of sex-pairing and the maternal relation existed long before the marriage institution was consummated. Pairing was inevitable from the moment that nature's division of labor required the commerce of two sexes for the getting of offspring; and maternity arose when a crude budding or fission no longer sufficed for reproduction. Hence Sumner could say: "Although we speak of marriage as an institution, it is only an imperfect one. It has no structure. The family is the institution, and it was antecedent to marriage."¹² Lippert sharply distinguishes between *sex-pairing*, which he traces to an "impulse of a most primary instinct very closely related to the group of reflex phenomena"; and *marriage*, of which he says: "Marriage is a subject not of Natural but of Culture History."¹³ We concur, at least in the second part of Westermarck's conclusion, that "it is for the benefit of the young that male and female continue to live together. Marriage is therefore rooted in the family, rather than the family in marriage."¹⁴ His derivation of marriage from the family is roughly correct; but the "benefit of the young" was not, nor never has been, the sole motive for the continued living together of man and woman. Keller's suggestion that "marriage in its origin was a combination for the purposes of better prosecuting the struggle for self-

¹² *Folkways*, 348.

¹³ *Kulturgeschichte*, i., 70, 72.

¹⁴ *Hist. of Human Marriage*, 22.

maintenance"¹⁵ is more general, and better in that it includes the economic and social elements together with the procreative. Man in all his institutions contrives to include an element of present satisfaction as well as the deferred or projective well-being. The procreation and nurture of children is too largely a projective satisfaction to offer an unique motive for enduring marriage. In fact it is probably not too much to say that the stability of the family, hence of marriage, came as much through the attempt to care for ancestors as through common care for common offspring, and that the parent's desire for attention when he should join his ancestors stimulated him to beget offspring and bring them up in the way they should go. But once established, the form of marriage became the index of family organization. We shall therefore proceed to a sketch of the development of marriage as a guide to the proper reconstruction of the primitive family, accepting Westermarck's definition of marriage in its lowest terms as "nothing else than a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring."¹⁶

¹⁵ *Homeric Society*, 201; cf. Lippert, ii., 27, 81; Ling Roth (*Natives of Sarawak*, etc., i., 127) says marriage among the Dyaks "is a business of partnership for the purpose of having children, dividing labor, and by means of their offspring providing for their old age. It is, therefore, entered into and dissolved almost at pleasure." Marriage among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers was an eminently practical, economic arrangement. The young man chose his bride not from some high eugenic ideal of offspring, but to enhance his own wealth, and good name. "Dinge die er am meisten schätzt, sind Reichtum und vornehmes Geschlecht" (Roeder, *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen*, 16.)

¹⁶ *L. c.* 19; cf. Parsons, *The Family*, 115. Lujo Brentano follows Westermarck in the main; he defines marriage as "eine Verbindung

Sub-human Promiscuity.—In the first place, was the original sex relation promiscuous, communistic, unregulated? In other words, was there ever a time when marriage in some form or other did not exist? We are now in a storm center and must proceed judiciously. It will be impossible to give here an adequate *résumé* of the half-century of polemic which has raged over this particular question. The opponents of the promiscuity theory carry their arguments back to the sub-human animals. With what result? The barnyard, pigsty, or pasture fails to yield any evidence of strict pairing; the facts point in the other direction. Some few wild birds are cited as beautiful examples of pure monogamy and family affection, but they are for the most part fanciful and inconclusive; and it is notorious that some of these same birds will desert their spouses and their nestlings at the call of the southward-flying *group*. The higher monkeys are held up to our admiration as models of marital constancy; yet I fail to find that any observer has been able to watch any group of monkeys *in their wild state* long enough to determine authoritatively their domestic arrangements. It is obviously unfair and misleading to judge the free by the captive animal in so delicate a matter. We should in justice, however, cite Howard's conservative conclusion, based upon studies of Brehm, du Chaillu, Westermarck, and others, that "promiscuity is far from universal

zwischen einem Manne und einem Weibe, die mehr oder minder lang, aber jedenfalls über den Zeugungakt hinaus bis nach Geburt des Erzeugten dauert." In supporting the monogamic character of the primitive family he rejects promiscuity and group-marriage. ("Die Volkswirtschaft u. ihre konkreten Grundbedingungen" in *Ztschft. f. Social u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Bd. i., pp. 77-148).

in the pre-human stage."¹⁷ Of actual prehistoric man we can only conjecture. Myth and legend give us little help. Bachofen attempted to interpret them, but, as his critics justly remark, succeeded in making poetry rather than science. We are left only the "survivals" of primitive mankind on which to base a judgment as to the beginnings of human marriage; and even here the most divergent conclusions have been worked out, and espoused with unseemly acrimony.

Human Promiscuity.—Bachofen in 1861 promulgated his theory of original hetairism.¹⁸ It was taken up by McLennan, who held to a theory of original sex promiscuity of which polyandry was the first general modification of promise.¹⁹ Paul Gide, the eminent French legal scholar, followed Bachofen in the main; he says:

"Ainsi, tous nos documents sont d'accord, et voici en résumé ce qu'ils nous déclarent: c'est, qu'il y a eu, du moins pour une partie considerable de l'humanité, une première période de désordre, et pour ainsi dire, de chaos moral, où les saintes lois de la famille étaient inconnues et où la femme, libre de tout lien, se trouvait livrée en même temps à la plus complète indépendance et à la plus honteuse abjection."²⁰

Morgan required an assumption of primitive promis-

¹⁷ *H. of M. I.*, i., 97. Lubbock, *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion*, 17, denies permanent unions among the social monkeys.

¹⁸ *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861.

¹⁹ *Studies in Ancient History* (1886), pp. 89-107; *S. in A. H.*, 2d series (1896), pp. 50-5.

²⁰ *Étude sur la condition de la femme dans le droit ancien et moderne*, etc., 2e ed. (Paris, 1885), p. 20.

cuity to round out his theory of the consanguine family; consequently he heads his list "Sequence of Institutions Connected with the Family," with "Promiscuous Intercourse." Yet he held only a modified view of this promiscuity. He says, for instance:

" . . . the state of society indicated by the consanguine family points with logical directness to an anterior condition of promiscuous intercourse. There seems to be no escape from this conclusion, although questioned by so eminent a writer as Mr. Darwin. It is not probable that promiscuity in the primitive period was long continued even in the horde; because the latter would break up into smaller groups for subsistence, and fall into consanguine families." He later confesses: "Promiscuity may be deduced theoretically as a necessary antecedent to the consanguine family; but it lies concealed in the misty antiquity of mankind beyond the reach of positive knowledge."²¹

Professor Sumner, too, was inclined toward the notion of original promiscuity. It must be admitted frankly, however, that there is no irrefragable evidence for any state of primitive promiscuity; yet sufficient "indications" exist to cast doubt on the alternative usually offered, viz., strict monogamous pairing. For example, an Australian husband assumes that his wife has been unfaithful to him if she has had opportunity.²² Williams and Calvert say of the Fiji women, "fear prevents unfaithfulness more than affection."²³ Crantz

²¹ *Ancient Society*, 498-9, 417-8, 502; cf. Post, *Die Geschlechts-genossenschaft der Urzeit*, etc., chap. ii.; L. Stein, *Die Sociale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie*, 568, etc.

²² Sumner, *Folkways*, 421.

²³ *Fiji*, 135. The English is the authors'!

found that single women among the Greenlanders rarely broke their chastity and were seldom prostitutes by profession; "but as for the married people, they are so shameless that, if they can, they break the matrimonial obligation on both sides without a blush."²⁴ D'Orbigny noted of the Botocudos: "Les Botocudos connaissent et respectent le lien de famille; ils ne sont pas aussi scrupuleux sur la fidélité conjugale. Rien de plus commun parmi eux que l'adultère."²⁵ Landor writes of the Abyssinians: "Owing to the singular state of affairs in Abyssinian marital relations—the men and their wives indulging in promiscuous love—it is sometimes difficult to trace the exact parentage of children. . . . No faithfulness exists in marital relations."²⁶ The California Indians were notoriously unchaste, especially before marriage. Young women were the common possession of the tribe. The Karoks had no word for sex virtue.²⁷ Darwin himself admits "that almost promiscuous or very loose intercourse was once extremely common throughout the world."²⁸ And many other facts will appear in subsequent paragraphs to bear up this theory.

Denials of Promiscuity.—The opponents of the

²⁴ David Crantz, *The History of Greenland*, etc., i., 191. (Eng. transl. 2 vols., London, 1767.)

²⁵ *Voyage dans les deux Amériques*, 157.

²⁶ *Across Widest Africa*, i., 110-11; cf. for other Africans, *Jour. of the Anthropol. Institute of Gr. Britain*, etc. (hereafter abbreviated as *J. A. I.*), xxxiv., 137; xxxvi., 288.

²⁷ Powers, "Tribes of Cal.," *Contrib. to N. A. Ethnol.*, III, 157, 22, etc.; cf. Gatschet, *Contrib. to N. A. Ethnol.*, II, xl.; Thomas, *Indians of N. A. in H. T.*, 373.

²⁸ *Descent of Man*. (Merrill & Baker rev. Am. ed.), 674; cf. Post, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, 54-5.

promiscuity theory were not slow to point out its weaknesses. Darwin was inclined to doubt an original universal promiscuity, because of male jealousy and the observed monogamous habits of anthropoid apes.²⁹ But Sumner declares, "Beasts do not manifest an emotion of jealousy so uniform or universal as Darwin assumes in his argument, nor any sentiment like that of a half-civilized man."³⁰ And as we have already hinted, testimony based on the anthropoid apes is dubious. Westermarck rejects utterly the whole hypothesis of promiscuity, grounding his argument largely upon his theory of the natural repugnance of housemates to sexual relations.³¹ Wake used a similar argument before him.³² Peschel cites the monogamy of the Veddahs to disprove promiscuity.³³ Deniker believes nearly all the evidence to be against primitive hetairism.³⁴ Starcke holds primitive sex relations to have been monogamous, and bases marriage on economic motives instead of the sex impulse.³⁵ Crawley is very positive in his conclusion:

"All the facts are distinctly opposed to any probability that incest or promiscuity was ever really practiced at all;"

²⁹ *Desc. of M.* (Standard ed.), ii., 318, etc. ³⁰ *Folkways*, 358.

³¹ *L. c.* in various places. Mr. Andrew Lang, in his Preface to Ling Roth's *Natives of Sarawak*, effectively disposes of Westermarck's theory and indicates the futility of basing arguments for or against promiscuity, etc., on "instinct." A recent example of this error occurs in Prof. Ellwood's *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 74-5. C. D. Whyte (*Man*, x., 98-9) offers evidence to disprove this theory of "natural repugnance."

³² *The Development of Marriage and Kinship*, 55.

³³ *The Races of Man*, 228-9.

³⁴ *The Races of Man*, 231.

³⁵ *The Primitive Family*, 254-61.

and again: "It may be confidently assumed that individual marriage has been, as far as we can trace it back, the regular type of union of man and woman. The Promiscuity theory really belongs to the mythological stage of human intelligence, and is on a par with many savage myths concerning the origin of marriage and the like. These are interesting but of no scientific value."³⁶

Group-Marriage.—The existence of so-called *Group-Marriage* has been treated as evidence of at least a modified promiscuity. Howitt found traces of it amongst the Australian tribes.³⁷ Spencer and Gillen go so far as to say of the Urabunnas: "There is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman. Individual marriage does not exist either in name or in practice in the Urabunna tribe."³⁸ Morgan makes Punaluan or group-marriage the second type in his "Sequence," and claims to find extensive evidence of such group communism among the Indian

³⁶ *The Mystic Rose*, 444, 483. These statements are too strong by far, for considerable evidence of incest, both present and past, exists. The Golds of the Amoor region still occasionally practice incest between brother and sister and among other relatives. The Nighubutu of northeastern Asia have a tradition that the first living man had forty-seven sons and forty-seven daughters who married each other (Laufer, in *Am. Anthropol.*, ii., n. s., 318-9, 316.). Certain New Guinea tribes have a similar legend; see Guisc, in xviii. *J. A. I.*, 205-6. Incest causes rather laughter than horror among Yakuts; cases of brothers and sisters, and even of mother and son living in incest are known (Sieroshevsky-Sumner, *The Yakuts*, 89, reprinted from xxxi. *J. A. I.*). Nearly every worker for the protection of children has encountered cases of incest in our own society. See, e.g., *Rep. of Chicago Vice Commission*, pp. 174-5.

³⁷ *Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*, 281; cf. R. Semon, *In the Austral. Bush*, 232-3; Howitt, xxxvii. *J. A. I.*, 268 ff.

³⁸ *Native Tribes of South Australia*, 63.

tribes of North America.³⁹ Post distinguishes between group-marriage or "exogamous promiscuity" and endogamous or general promiscuity; he finds evidence of the former (*e. g.*, among ancient Britons), but considers the latter purely hypothetical.⁴⁰ Kohler makes totemism lead directly to group-marriage and derives individual marriage from group-marriage.⁴¹ Rivers maintains the existence of "collective marriage" but rejects primitive promiscuity.⁴² Wake is inclined to accept provisionally Fison and Howitt's observations of group-marriage among the Kamilaroi and Kurnai. Bachofen (and more recently Max Thal) finds in "temple prostitution" and *jus primae noctis* survivals of a transition period from group- to pair-marriage.⁴³ So much for the *pros.* Westermarck heads the *contras* by rejecting *in toto* group-marriage. Thomas concludes:

"The survey of Australian customs and terms of relationship leads us to the conclusion that the former, so far from proving the present or even the former existence of group-marriage in that continent, do not even render it probable; on the latter no argument of any sort can be founded which assumes them to refer to consanguinity, kinship or affinity. It is therefore not rash to say that the case for group-marriage, so far as Australia is concerned, falls to the ground . . . the theory of primitive promis-

³⁹ *Anc. Soc.* 399; cf. his *Houses and House Life of the Am. Aborigines*, vi, 200, 275, etc.

⁴⁰ "Hausgenossenschaften und Gruppen Ehe," in *Ausland*, for 1891, 842; *id.*, "Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts," 54-6, 57, note.

⁴¹ "Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe," in *Ztschft. f. vergleichende Rechtswiss.*, xii., 250, 326.

⁴² In *L'Année Sociologique* (1906-9), 357.

⁴³ *L. c.*, 98 ff.

cuity and group-marriage as stages in the general history of mankind remain mere baseless guesses until we have a systematic account both of the causes which led to the various steps, and of the processes by which the various stages were reached."⁴⁴

But the majority of opponents to the theory content themselves with limiting its operation. Kalischer confines group promiscuity to times when sex intercourse was *seasonal* (rutting periods).⁴⁵ Crawley rejects universal group-marriage and limits it to periods of *sex license*, and insists that it was never more widespread. He says:

"It is a perversion of history, and of psychology as well, to make man more communistic the more primitive he is. There may be a few isolated cases in peoples whose tribal

⁴⁴N. W. Thomas, *Kinship Organizations and Group-Marriage in Australia*, 147-9; cf. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i., 119 ff.

⁴⁵"Die Geschlechtliche Zuchtwahl bei den Menschen in der Urzeit," in *Ztschft. f. Ethnologie*, viii., 140-75. A good example of this periodic sex license occurs in the *ingoma* of the Mabasa tribe, "an all-night orgy, to which all young people of other clans are invited" (Purvis, *Uganda to Mt. Elgon*, 338). Among the Tangkhuls of Manipur also occur periodic festivals marked by sex license; they are usually connected with the crops; "the severity of their ordinary morality is broken by a night of unbridled license" (Hodson, in xxxi. *J. A. I.*, 307). Of the natives of Kiwai Island, British New Guinea, Rev. Jas. Chalmers writes: "The *Moguru* time (the initiation ceremony) is a period of general license, and in some respects very much resembles that at Maipua and the neighboring district" (xxxiii. *J. A. I.*, 124). A survival of what appears to have been periodic license occurs among the Bororos of Brazil, where at a certain time of the year the young men give a feast at their *Bahito* and steal away the virgins and keep them in the *Bahito*. The Bororos claim that this only happens to girls without parents, otherwise fathers would be angry. But no doubt the practice was once more extensive. (See Frič and Radin, in xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 390.)

solidarity has become pronounced. . . . Nor did any man ever yet marry a tribe."⁴⁶

Andrew Lang is of similar opinion: "It is an isolated 'sport' among the Dieri, Urabunna, and their congeners. Being thus isolated, Pirrauru cannot claim to be a necessary step in evolution from 'group-marriage' to 'individual marriage.'"⁴⁷ He further attempts to show that even in such temporary sex communism as the Pirrauru, sex jealousy crops out, at least afterwards.

On the whole the evidence is inconclusive for the former *universality* of group-marriage. I do not consider it necessary to assume that the race passed through this stage in the evolution of familial forms. Our own conclusion is that group-marriage has not yet been sufficiently established to build extensively upon. Yet even its limited existence, together with those common manifestations of periodic sex license, serves to show that the primitive marriage bond is by no means so straight and enduring as we are urged to believe. This point stands out even more clearly in the phenomena of exchange marriage, trial marriage, temporary marriage, divorce, etc. Furthermore, the subordination of the individual to the group is a salient characteristic not only in cases where group-marriage is avowedly the custom, but also elsewhere. In fact we might generalize and extend pretty widely through savage life Fison and Howitt's statement regarding the Kamilaroi:

" . . . it is the group alone that is regarded; the individual is ignored; he is not looked upon as a perfect entity. He has no existence save as a part of a group, which in its

⁴⁶ *Mystic Rose*, 320-1.

⁴⁷ *Secret of the Totem*, 43, 49, 55.

entirety is the perfect entity." And elsewhere: "The idea of marriage under the classificatory system of kinship is founded on the rights neither of the woman nor of the man. It is founded on the rights of the tribe, or rather of the classes into which the tribe is divided. Class marriage is not a contract entered into by two parties. It is a natural state into which both parties are born."⁴⁸

This point will be considered more fully in a subsequent paragraph, where the effect of such subordination on family life and the rearing of children will be shown.

⁴⁸ *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 57. Further evidences of group-marriage may be found in Lubbock, *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion*, 19, etc.; also in Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii., 348-50; Wundt, *Archiv f. Rechts- und Wirtschafts-philosophie*, v., 538-42.

CHAPTER III

PRIMITIVE MARITAL RELATIONS

2. *Trial Marriage, Divorce, Polygamy*

Primitive Sex Relations Not of One Type Only.—What with the doubts cast upon original universal promiscuity and upon universal group communism as a second stage in the progress toward an enduring monogamic marriage bond, are we left no tolerably sure evidence as to primitive marriage conditions? It seems likely that we may approximate nearer the truth by eliminating the qualification “universal” from the generalizations on this subject. The “universal” savors too strongly of pure logic, and human institutions are notoriously indifferent to logic, save that experimental pragmatic logic involved in reacting upon life problems. Now life problems vary both in space and time; hence spontaneous variations in these reactions are to be expected; and the only “universal” is the adapting of *some* means to *some* end. That is to say, the only thing we can be absolutely sure of is that mankind, given time enough, will by some hook or crook squirm out of the difficulty. But this is far from saying that the same hooks or crooks will everywhere be used in the face of similar

difficulties. Applying this dictum to the evolution of marriage, instead of a universal series of forms or stages through which mankind has passed, we should find that there has been only a general trend, and that the series is not at all uniform, but broken into and disturbed at many points. Hence we are prepared to find a perfect sequence of forms existing alongside of survivals, anticipations, and distorted forms. For example, France in our own day is presumed to have attained the monogamous stage, yet fifty thousand of Paris prostitutes indicate a survival of promiscuity. And such overlapping of sex relations may be observed in most modern lands.¹ The inference is obvious, viz., that *monogamy is not an innate instinct*; it is rather, as Morgan once wrote, "a growth through experience, like all the great passions and powers of the mind."² *It is therefore an acquired characteristic, and as such only transmissible through social heredity.*³ Certain individuals and certain groups learn faster or slower than others; that is, they

¹ Cf. Parsons, *The Family*, 115: "There is no known human society in which marriage as we have defined it does not exist, but forms of sexual promiscuity occur in many societies together with marriage." It was only the other day that Mr. George Moore, a notable English writer, announced that all women are by nature polyandrous!

² *Anc. Soc.*, 460.

³ I am unable to agree with Sutherland (*Orig. and Gr. of the Moral Inst.*, i., 185) that there is a "natural tendency" leading savages in general to "drift into the comfort and peace of monogamous union," unless he means to include all the forces, natural, social, etc., which have co-operated to bring monogamy to pass. Post (*Familienrechts*, 73-4) says, "Meistens ist es nur die Armuth, welche den Mann hindert, sich mehr als eine Frau zu halten." Compare in this connection the theory of the old German statistician Suessmilch that the approximate equilibrium between the numbers of the sexes proves that monogamy was written by Divinity into the order of things.

acquire this or that characteristic at a varying rate. Conditions permitting, we should expect certain members of a group to lag behind or advance over others in the lesson of domestic stability and happiness. We are assured that any sort of sex conduct was allowable among primitive men provided it did not infringe on the rights of others. Hence we should be prepared to find in primitive society a varying condition of promiscuity and fixity in the marriage relation, which we might briefly term *intermittent promiscuity*. The majority of facts seems to bear out such a view. Adopting Sir John Lubbock's excellent distinction, we should say that in the earliest times marriage was "brittle"; later periods extending to the present day developed the "lax" type. Brittle is tantamount to intermittent.

"Intermittent Promiscuity."—Even Crawley admits that the theoretical form of the primitive family in its bisexual character involved "separation of man and wife except when the needs of love require satisfaction."⁴ And Wake also yields a point in favor of intermittency: "That the union between man and woman was not that of individual marriage is probable, and possibly it may not have endured for life. Much would depend on whether it bore fruit."⁵ Sterility has always been a more or less potent bar to stable marriage. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that child-bearing has been a hindrance to stable marriage, and that women have resorted to infanticide to preserve the sexual union. But the separation of man and wife must still more effectively have militated against an

⁴ L. c., 408; cf. Post, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, 87, 98-9.

⁵ L. c., 52.

enduring bond. During this separation propinquity to other females could not fail of effect. Lang thinks that even granting group communism,

“the intercourse of the sexes even in that group must have been restrained by jealousy, based on the asserted existence of individual ‘likes’ and ‘dislikes.’ These restrictions, again must have led to some idea that the man usually associated with, and responsible for feeding, protecting, and correcting the woman and her children, was just the man who ‘liked’ her, the man whom she ‘liked,’ and the man who ‘disliked’ other men if they wooed her”.⁶

Against this we might object that, at least until the discovery of fire and other arts, and until man had attained a fairly sedentary life, the woman was to a large extent self-subsistent; and at an extremely early age her children were, too. Only with a pretty well developed division of labor could such a system of “likes” and “dislikes” obtain. Furthermore, we must always bear in mind the distinction between sex-satisfaction and refined “likes” which would be so strongly marked as to sanction strict ties of marriage or parenthood. The persistence of prostitution among married men and the common phenomenon of the omni-amorous man are indications that we must not emphasize too strongly likes and dislikes.⁷ It is unlikely that propinquity failed to operate among savages any less than it does nowadays at the hands of

⁶ Lang, *Secret of the Totem*, 61.

⁷ I have known several estimable gentlemen who voiced their love for all women. One particularly cultured man “liked” any one of half a dozen or so women well enough to marry her. I fancy it was something more than mere “liking” that decided his final choice!

“designing parents.” Rather would its operation have been the stronger in the absence of those checks which society has devised in the progress of acquiring its monogamic characteristic. Indeed this was precisely the situation among the Waicuri described by Baegert:

“They do not seem to marry exactly for the same reasons that induce civilized people to enter into that state; they simply want to have a partner, and the husband besides, a servant whom he can command, although his authority in that respect is rather limited, for the women are somewhat independent, and not much inclined to obey their lords. Although they are now duly married according to the rites of the Catholic Church, nothing is done on their part to solemnize the act, *i.e.*, no feasts, etc. . . . As soon as the ceremony is over, the new married couple start off in different directions in search of food just as if they were not more to each other to-day than they were yesterday; and in the same manner they act in the future, providing separately for their support, sometimes without living together for weeks, and without knowing anything of their partner’s abiding place. . . . They lived in fact, before the establishment of the missions in their country, in utter licentiousness, and adultery was daily committed by every one without shame and without any fear, the feeling of jealousy being unknown to them.”⁸

Trial Marriage.—Trial marriages are only one step removed from bare promiscuity. And primitive divorce is so simple and informal as to amount to the same thing. Peary says of his Eskimo friends that trial marriage “is an ineradicable custom. . . . If a

⁸Baegert, *l. c.*, 367-8; lack of jealousy contradicted in another place.

young man and woman are not suited with each other they try again, and sometimes several times; but when they find mates to whom they are adapted the arrangement is generally permanent." ⁹ Rasmussen observed among the Greenlanders the custom of exchanging wives, and also notes that the practice is not always agreeable to the women concerned. ¹⁰ Of the Nicobar Islanders, Man writes:

"The weakness or 'brittleness' of the marriage tie and the facility of divorce have been described as a 'feature common to the delineations of most of the tribes of Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago,' and as presenting a striking contrast to the respect for the marriage bond shown by natives of India. Among the Nicobarese, as among the Dyaks of Borneo, many husbands have changed their wives three or more times before they find a partner with whom they are willing to pass the remainder of their days."¹¹

Among Bontoc Igorots: "There are no women in Bontoc pueblo who have not entered into the trial union, though all have not succeeded in reaching the ceremony of permanent marriage." Indeed with this tribe the *olag*, or girls' dormitory institution, deliberately fosters the practice of trial marriage by inviting and even coercing young men to visit its inhabitants. With the exception of the rich, marriage never takes place

⁹ *The North Pole*, 59.

¹⁰ *People of the Polar North*, 132; cf. the Wagogo of Germ. E. Africa, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 312; also West Australians, Clement, in *Int. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, xvi., 13.

¹¹ E. H. Man, "The Nicobar Islanders," xviii. *J. A. I.*, 367-8; cf. Post, *Familienrechts*, 73-4.

prior to sexual intimacy, and rarely prior to pregnancy. The marriage bond is easily broken; if either party desires the break, the other rarely objects.¹² This opens up the subject of divorce.

Divorce.—If we are looking for some standard by which to measure the enormous progress humanity has made with regard to stable marriage and family life, I doubt if we can find anything better than a comparison between primitive and advanced peoples in the matter of divorce. For, barring certain exceptions, divorce is extraordinarily prevalent among savage peoples. And it is usually informal and easy to consummate.

Among Point Barrow Eskimos marriage is easily dissolved for incompatibility or even on account of temporary disagreements.¹³ With the Central Eskimo the slightest pretext suffices for separation.¹⁴ Among the Melanesians Codrington found divorce easy and common.¹⁵ Captain Burrows observes of the pigmies: "There is no divorce among the Mang-bettou. A man simply takes another wife when he is tired of the first."¹⁶ The Doko people, southwest of Abyssinia, are said to "live mixed together; men and women unite and separate as they please."¹⁷ Of the Zaparos of Ecuador we are told:

¹² A. E. Jenks, "The Bontoc Igorot," *U. S. Dept. Inter. Ethnol. Survey Publ.*, i., 69, 66, 33; similar custom in island of Guam: cf. Safford, *Am. Anthropol.*, iv., n. s., 715.

¹³ Murdoch, in *9th Bur. Ethn.*, 411-12.

¹⁴ Boas, in *6th Bur. Ethn.*, 579.

¹⁵ *Melanesians*, 244-6; similarly in parts of New Guinea, see Guise, in xviii *J. A. I.*, 209-10; cf. Capt. Cook, *Voyage to Pacific Ocean*, ii., 156; also *id.*, *First Voyage*, 88; Rivet, in *L'Anthropologie*, xviii., 608.

¹⁶ *Land of the Pigmies.*, 86.

¹⁷ Latham, *Man and his Migrations*, 64.

"In their matrimonial relations they are very loose—monogamy, communism, and promiscuity all apparently existing among them. They allow the women great liberty and frequently change their mates or simply discard them, when they are perhaps taken up by another."¹⁸

Reclus says of the Badagas of India:

"For any sort of cause the husband enjoys the prerogative of sending away even a fruitful partner who has ceased to please him, and is free to marry again as often as he likes. He rarely uses this right, and if the first alliance has resulted in offspring, he will consider himself satisfied. On the whole, household bonds do not seriously hamper the movements of either man or woman. If the bride dislikes her home she can leave it, provided she deserts her children. The husband will restore whatever little things she may have brought; she quietly returns to her father and awaits the proposals of fresh admirers."¹⁹

One of the earlier Victorian writers on India recorded that among the Booteahs,

"the marriage tie is so loose that chastity is quite unknown among them. . . Polyandry prevails among them . . . but even the very slight restriction implied by that institution is not observed. The intercourse between the sexes is, in fact, promiscuous."²⁰

Loskiel found the marriage tie scarcely less brittle among several tribes of North American Indians:

¹⁸ Gomme, *Folklore as an Hist. Sci.*, 247.

¹⁹ *Primitive Folk*, 195.

²⁰ Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, 142 (Wake). Further examples of easy divorce in Eastern lands: Cummins, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 151; Johnstone, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 267; Rivers, xxx. *J. A. I.*, 81; Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, etc., i., 126-33; Volz, *Archiv f. Anthropologie*, xxxv., 104; Shakespear, *Man*, May, 1912, p. 69.

The young people among the Delawares, Iroquois, and other nations connected with them, have seldom marriages of long continuance, especially if they have not children soon. Sometimes an Indian forsakes his wife because she has a child to suckle, and marries another, whom he forsakes in her turn for the same reason. The women also forsake the men after having received many presents, and knowing that they have no more to expect. Then they marry another from whom they expect more. . . . The Indians therefore consider their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, 'My wife is not my friend,' that is, she is not related to me and I need not care for her." Yet he goes on to say that many Indians "live very sociably in the married state and keep to one wife. These regular families have the most children. Some indeed live peaceably with their wives merely that they may not be separated from their children." But he finally concludes: "There is no very strong tie between the married people in general, not even between the oldest. A very little trifle, or one bad word, furnishes ground for divorce."²¹

The lack of marital confidence and understanding illustrated by the Indian proverb just quoted is frequently encountered in every quarter of the world. Among the Fuegians, for instance, "the family feeling is very weak, also between married people."²² "The joint houses of the Pelew and Caroline Islands are un-

²¹ L. c., 57-8; Lawson, *History of Carolina*, Lond., 1714 (reprint of 1860), p. 304; Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.* (Centenary ed.) ii., 419; Nelson, *Indians of New Jersey*, p. 40, cites further references; Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane, Les Mœurs des Sauvages*, 30-5; Gibbs, *Contrib. to N. A. Ethnol.*, i., 198-9.

²² Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, ii., 677; cf. *Bulletins de la Soc. d'Anthropol. de Paris*, vii., 172; x., 338.

favorable to family life. It is regarded as shameful that a woman should be in confidential relations with her husband."²³

Loose Sex Relations in Modern Mexico.—Accounts of domestic relations in present-day Mexico accord thoroughly with facts recorded in the preceding paragraph. Mr. Flandrau, a keen and thoroughly posted student of Mexican life despite his irrepressible whimsicality, presents a picture which seems to me to typify general primitive conditions, and to show conclusively the weakness of considering enduring monogamy as an innate characteristic. The overwhelming influence of the *mores* is also notable.

"Among the lower classes in Mexico 'free love' is not the sociological experiment it sometimes tries to be in more civilized communities. It is a convention, an institution, and, in the existing condition of affairs, a necessity. Let me explain. The Mexicans are an excessively passionate people and their passions develop at an early age (I employ the words in a specific sense), not only because nature has so ordered it, but because, owing to the way in which they live—whole families, not to mention animals, in a small one-roomed house—the elemental facts of life are known to them from the time they can see with their eyes and hear with their ears. For a Mexican child of seven or eight among the lower classes, there are no mysteries. Boys of fifteen have had their affairs with older women; boys of seventeen are usually strongly attracted by some one person whom they would like to marry. . . . On my ranch, for instance, very few of the 'married' people are married. Almost every grown man lives with a woman who makes

²³ Ratzel, ii., 187; cf. Fynn, *The American Indian*, 124. Further evidence will appear in Chapter IV.

his tortillas and bears him children, and about some of these households there is an air of permanence and content. But with the death of mutual desire there is nothing that tends to turn the scale in favor of permanence; no sense of obligation, no respect for a vague authority higher and better than oneself, no adverse public opinion. Half an hour of ennui, or some one seen for a moment from a new point of view—and all is over. The man goes his way, the woman hers. The children, retaining their father's name, remain as a rule, with the mother. And soon there is a new set of combinations. One woman who worked here had three small children—every one with a different surname: the name of its father. While here she kept house with the mayor-domo, who for no reason in particular had wearied of the wife he had married in church. No one thought it odd that she should have three children by different men, or that she should live with the mayor-domo, or that the mayor-domo should tire of his wife and live with her. As a matter of fact there was nothing odd about it. No one was doing wrong, no one was 'flying in the face of public opinion.' She and the three men who had successively deserted her, the mayor-domo who found it convenient to form an alliance with her, and his wife who betook herself to a neighboring ranch and annexed a boy of sixteen, were all simply living their lives in accordance with the promptings they had never been taught to resist. It is not unusual to hear a mother, in a moment of irritation, exclaim as she gives her child a slap, 'Hijo de quien sabe quien!' (Child of who knows whom!) ”²⁴

²⁴ *Viva Mexico!* 90-1, 92, 93. Mr. Flandrau is inclined to lay this loose condition of sex *mores* at the door of the Catholic Church. The people, from having been so long under the undivided domination of the Church, have come to regard religious marriage as alone valid, though since the disestablishment of the Church in 1859 only the civil ceremony is legal. The high fees exacted by the Church effectively

Absence of Domestic Happiness.—It is fairly well established, then, that *promiscuity mixed with apathetic monogamous pairing was the original sex relation*, and that such a condition still prevails to a no small degree.²⁵ It also appears that the mere having of offspring was never the sole marital link. The looseness of primitive marriage was probably due to the exigencies of the struggle for subsistence, self-maintenance being more fundamental than the impulse to project or perpetuate oneself.²⁶ There is little evidence of anything approaching a sense of vital relationship between marriage mates, nor of what we should call a sympathetic bond. The relation of man and wife too often corresponds to that marked in Indo-European language as “master” and “bearer of children.”²⁷ It is true that occasionally one comes across a picture of domestic happiness in classical antiquity²⁸; but certainly the emphasis is laid upon marriage as a business arrangement. No more does happiness appear as an ideal in the familial

prevent the religious ceremony, with the result that the marriageable couple usually dispenses with all formalities. But even in cases where a church ceremony has been performed, the tie is scarcely better than a rope of sand.

²⁵ This is also substantially Spencer's view (*Prin. of Sociol.*, i., 619, 644, 647, etc.). It is of course in contradiction to Starcke's conclusion as to primitive enduring monogamy (*cf.* his *Prim. Fam.*, 258; yet in a later work, *La famille dans les différentes Sociétés*, Starcke somewhat contradicts this view and derives monogamy from juristic and economic necessities and especially from the demand of one wife to be “first” in her husband's household and to relegate his other “wives” to inferior rank as concubines). I am indebted for the excellent adjective “apathetic” to Mr. McGee's article, “Beginning of Marriage,” in *Am. Anthropol.*, ix., 382.

²⁶ Cf. *ante*, pp. 18–9.

²⁷ Schrader, *Prehis. Antiq.*, 385–7.

²⁸ E.g., *Odyssey*, vi., 182; *Iliad*, bk. vi.

life of modern savagery. Among the Polynesians, for example, the men are said to be very sociable with each other, "but there is nothing which could be called domestic happiness." And Curr says of the Australian wife, "She is not the relative, but the property, of her husband."²⁹ It is not surprising, indeed, that the relation between a man and his "*erstes Haushier*" (as Wuttke calls the primitive wife) should be lacking in lively affection or joy.

Absence of Moral Element in Marriage.—Only with the rise of moral sentiment and intelligence does marriage begin to emerge from a pure physiological and economic order. Permanent marriage, we repeat, grew, at least in part, out of economic necessity, from economic egoism, from the male's desire to possess the labor power of the female. It was therefore at first a more or less forced relation between unequals. Out of this enforced association seem to have developed the higher marital ties—family sense, love of home, etc. And these added values in time supersede the others, and even sustain the marriage relation when the old economic necessity has weakened or disappeared. Here, as in other social relations, progress is a barbed hook, which once swallowed cannot be disengaged. Mankind like the mouse enters by a little hole but grows and cannot get out again. Conscience is the protest against trying to get out by the little hole, to reject the hook. It is organized resistance to the diminution of acquired power and well-being. Now this organized resistance

²⁹ Ratzel, ii., 183 (for somewhat contrary view, see R. Semon, *In the Austral. Bush*, 331); Curr, *Australian Race*, i., 106; Thomas, *Indians of North America*, 373; Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 493-4.

to the relinquishing of an advantage once won, call it conscience, or what you will, lies mainly in the group conscience; or, perhaps better, in that reservoir of group experience denoted by the term "social heredity." Hence tradition, custom, the *mores*, play a most important rôle, not only in determining the stability of the marriage bond, but also in investing it with those ideal and transcendent characteristics which more and more come to mark and glorify it.

The evolution of chastity offers an excellent example of how the *mores* operate to change the content of meaning in marriage. Premarital chastity is practically unknown, nor even conceived, among lower peoples. There is almost universal promiscuity among savage youth both before and after initiation. This continues up to the time of parental maturity, after which pairing of various degrees and types of fixity is usual, as we have already seen. Even then marriage is anything but strictly chaste.

The adult savage often makes use of the girls of his tribe to gratify his sex desire while they are still at a very tender age. Several writers acquainted with the Australians say that girls of only nine or ten years old were thus taken for promiscuous intercourse.³⁰ Lawson says that the Indians of the Carolinas were given to this sort of promiscuity; that young girls who changed mates often were sought after as "capable of managing domestic affairs," etc.; "the more whorish, the more honorable," he adds.³¹ Among the Nandi of the Uganda Protectorate, the "im-

³⁰ Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i., 319; Sutherland, *l. c.*, i., 113; Torday and Joyce., xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 288.

³¹ *Hist. of Carolina*, 62-3.

mature girls live with the young fighting men until they reach womanhood. If by chance one of these unmarried girls has a child by a warrior during this intercourse, she strangles it as soon as it is born."³² Among the Maraba people illegitimate sex-commerce involves no shame to the girl, but only lowers her "marketable value"; so that she fetches only two to four head of cattle instead of four to ten.³³ On the other hand if an Akamba girl is pregnant by another lover at the time of her marriage, so much the better thinks her new husband, for he is sure of at least one child.³⁴

Of marital adultery it is impossible to universalize, except to say that it is very widespread, and that probably the more subordinate the position of the wife, the more she becomes the "thing" of the man, the stricter is the feeling against adultery. In such cases it is not, however, a question of sentiment, but of masculine pique and violation of property rights. The custom of offering the wife to one's friend or guest (as observed, e.g., among the North American Indians, the Fijians, ancient Arabs, Nandis, Guanaches) depends similarly

³² Sir Harry Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii., 878, 553, 642, 778, 882-5; Granville and Roth, xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 107; Burrows, xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 46.

³³ Purvis, *Uganda to Mt. Elgon*, 281, 74; Crooke, xxviii. *J. A. I.* 237.

³⁴ Tate, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 137; Bagge, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 169; Bennett, xix. *J. A. I.*, 70; Thomson, xxxi. *J. A. I.*, 145; C. N. Bell, *Tangawara* (The Mosquito Indians of South Amer.), reviewed in xxix. *J. A. I.*, 339; A. D. Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries*, 276; Ellis, *Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, 154, 185; Man, xii. *J. A. I.*, 135; Lewin, *Wild Races of S. E. India*, 121, 193, 201, 233, 245, 254; Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, i., 116; Furness, *The Island of Stone Money*; Pector, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, v., 219; Chevrier, *L'Anthropologie*, xvii., 370; Leprince, *L'Anthropologie*, xvi., 59-60; Rivet, *L'Anthropologie*, xviii., 605-6; Gibbs, *l. c.*, 199-200; Powers, *l. c.*, 157, 22.

upon the notion of husband's right to use his property as he chooses.³⁵ It is evident from such customs that chastity was not observed, to say nothing of being held as a desirable ideal of morality and beauty. In fact as already suggested, marital infidelity is often taken for granted. Tylor tells of a savage who explained that if anybody took away his wife, that would be bad, but if he himself took some one's else, that would be good!³⁶ Mythology and folklore yield abundant evidence of this attitude; to such an extent, indeed, that in reading these old tales one must rub his eyes sometimes to dispel the illusion that he is in the midst of Jacobean or modern French comedy.

Polygamy.—Perhaps a few words should be given to polygamous marriage forms. Space requirements necessitate rather a summary and dogmatic treatment of what is really a most important problem. Polyandry we are inclined to regard as unfavorable to the child's education and training, partly owing to its form, and partly to the conditions which produce it. In the first case, there must almost of necessity be an air of uncertainty about the male parent; and consequently divided authority and friction in the care of offspring. In the second case, since it springs from poverty and population pressure (at least largely so), it is not likely that the child should receive a very full share of care and

³⁵ Schrader, *l. c.*, 338; Lewis and Clarke, *Travels*, i., 144; ii., 165; Williams, *Fiji*, 135; Johnston, *l. c.*, ii., 882, etc.; Miss Cook, *Amer. Anthropol.*, ii., n. s., 479-80.

³⁶ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii., 318. In many cases where adultery is nominally punishable, it is not difficult to secure a proper judgment of innocence; see, e.g., Girard on certain Congo tribes, in *L'Anthropologie*, xii., 85.

training. However, I do not lay this down as law or gospel; for it may be that the child's interests would be better cared for by a jury of fathers than by a single sire. As for polygyny, it is difficult to see why, theoretically, it should be inferior to strict monogamy, from the viewpoint of the child's advantage. It is an index of comparative material well-being; so that the child should not fail of proper nourishment. It affords the child a larger share of maternal attention than is possible under polyandry or a starveling monogamy that forces the woman to grub incessantly for her own living, and mayhap that of her children as well. The objection that under such a system the child loses the paternal influence is not insuperable; for if paternity stands for strength and discipline, the polygynous father must possess these qualities to an unusual degree in order to have attained to his material prosperity, and to cope with his plurality of female partners. There is no good reason why he should not stand for authority and discipline to a hundred children as to half a dozen, if he sets himself that job; and he is quite as likely to do so as the modern monogamous father, who, involved in business and social cares, sees his children only of a Sunday.³⁷

Yet there do seem to be certain grave educational objections to polygamous marriage. If education be conceived as a life process, and if honorable, above-board relations between the sexes be a vital part of that

³⁷A little girl living in a New York suburb is reported recently to have asked, "Mother, who is that strange man? I don't like him, I wish he would go away!"—"Why, my child, that is your father!" etc. It is doubtful if the hundredth child of a polygamous father would be more in the dark!

education, then anything which hinders the easy natural play of such relations limits and obstructs education. Consider, for example, the conditions surrounding the young men of such a tribe as the Mangbettou. Captain Burrows says that morality is practically non-existent among them, "the reason being that the chiefs have so many wives (sometimes up to five hundred) that there are no women left for the young men of the village to marry."³⁸ Such a condition represents not only a moral but also an educational crisis. Again, the ranking of the polygamous household is usually hierarchic not democratic; there is usually one chief "wife" and a number of subordinates; hence internal dissensions and jealousies are sure to arise and to react upon the status and well-being of the several ranks of children. Presumably for this reason, Mrs. Parsons guardedly concludes: "Although polygamy is undoubtedly more advantageous to offspring than restricted, *i.e.*, very unstable, monogamy, yet it probably secures less parental care for offspring than developed or enduring monogamy."³⁹ The Greenlanders, according to Crantz,⁴⁰ did not always practice polygamy from love of children, nor merely to secure a "stay" in their old age, "but mostly from lust"—never a healthy condition for rearing man or beast. Parenthetically let it be noted that marital happiness or content is not in any way identical with the welfare of offspring. It is one thing to say, *e.g.*, that a Mabuche woman *likes* polygamy and welcomes each new wife because it divides her own work, and quite another to say that the Mabuche child profits in any

³⁸ *J. A. I.*, xxviii., 46.³⁹ *The Family*, 144.⁴⁰ *L. c.*, i., 191.

way by the arrangement. Among the Mandingo negroes an old voyager found that polygamy seemed largely to have obliterated the paternal influence, but to have strengthened the maternal relation.⁴¹ Here is a source of weakness, for however wise the maternal teaching, it cannot fail to be unbalanced unless complemented by masculine influence, either from a parent or from social regimenting. I shall not attempt to pronounce an *ipse dixit* on this matter; however, a final citation from two noted observers of the Fijians should show at least that there is a serious question and matter for grave educational doubt.

"Another and most heavy curse of polygamy falls on the children, since it is an institution which virtually dissolves the ties of relationship, and makes optional the discharge of duties which nature, reason, and religion render imperative. Hence there are multitudes of children in Fiji who are wholly uncared for by their parents; and I have noticed cases beyond number where natural affection was wanting on both sides. The Fijian child is utterly deprived of that wholesome and necessary discipline which consists of regular and ever repeated acts of correction and teaching. Fitful attempts to gain the mastery are made by the parent, coming in the form of a furious outburst of passion, to which the child opposes a due proportion of obstinacy, and in the end is triumphant. Thus the children grow up without knowledge, without good morals or habits, without amiability or worth, fitted, by the way in which they are reared, to develop the worst features of heathen life. And this hapless condition they owe to polygamy, which robs the parent of the comforts and

⁴¹ Park, in Pinkerton, *Voyages*, etc., xvi., 872.

endearments of married life, and gives the child but a slight advantage over the whelp of the brute."⁴²

SUMMARY.—The foregoing paragraphs make no pretense to an exhaustive discussion of primitive marriage conditions. It will be impossible to go into details of the profound social changes which have brought about the sequence of marriage and familial types. Suffice it to say that there has been no universal and uniform sequence, that the patriarchal family is not the ideal nor primeval type despite the theological and legal sanctions for belief in it as such. Perhaps the following rough sequence⁴³ indicates as well as may be the historic progress of the family: (1) Father-Family with monandry, communism of women, or apathetic and intermittent monogamy; (2) Mother-Family with the influence of the mother's clan predominating; (3) Transition to the Father-Family in the form of the Patriarchate with its successive toning-downs and modifications. Concurrent with these changes in marriage and family forms must be noted the growing sense of property and of kinship. In fact, so far as we may state social changes in strict "causal" terms, we might say that the transition from (1) to (2) was caused by a gradual division of occupation and development of sense of relationship between mother and child as well as close kinship in the clan; the transition from (2) to (3) by a further differentiation by occupation, a further refining and precision in notions of relationship, a loss of the sense of clan solidarity and

⁴² Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 141-2. The reader will make such allowance as he chooses for European missionary bias in this excerpt.

⁴³ Adapted from a suggestion of Professor Sumner.

its predominance as a social unit, and growth of a sense of property, with the desire to amass and transmit it. But all that is necessary to our present purpose is to have established the original brittle, intermittent, shifting bond which preceded the modern relatively stricter marriage tie. One question only concerns us: What was the effect of this shifting, unstable arrangement upon the care and nurture of children: in other words, upon their education? With education as with any other force, continuity in effort is requisite to produce adequate results. *It is obvious that with a continual shifting and disturbing of domestic relations there could have been no continuity in any policy of parental education had the times permitted or required it.* Conceive, if you can, a condition in the present whereby a child's parents or guardians are constantly shifting; where the children become as Jules Simon said, "Orphelins dont les parents sont vivants." *Is it not clear, then, that such a slack marriage relation, instead of wholesomely educating the child, must have left him without education, or what is worse, with an education in rebellion, looseness, and egoism? In other words, must have fostered in him qualities and habits which other social agencies were burdened with checking or weeding out?* This deduction is based wholly upon a study of the marital relation. The subsequent discussion of the relation of parents to children will aid in justifying or disproving this conclusion. Furthermore, in that large group of cases where the marriage relation was stable enough, yet based not on understanding or good will but rather on male force and female subordination (physical and economic), the mere fact of such gross marital in-

equality must effectually have checked any serious domestic education. The teachings of a slave, chattel, or *erstes Haushier* could scarcely match those of a lord and master. But the very essence of domestic teaching is supposed to be its rather egalitarian mixture of masculine and feminine. Any domestic system that marks off sharply the two must result in sex antagonisms and social discord. This is precisely what we shall find cropping out in sex taboos. Finally, there is the question whether with more excellent marital arrangements the child's education could be consummated within the family circle. To this we can only reply that common sense, sociology, and genetic psychology unite in insisting that for the development of a well-rounded personality the child needs the widest possible area of social contact. But does the family afford a sufficiently wide pasture ground for the raising of such a rounded personality? We are rather of the opinion that even the most excellent family relations are likely to do actual educational harm if the development of the child's "self" and his education be restricted too closely within the family. It conduces to inbreeding, to what might be called educational incest. A narrow family feeling breeds selfishness, and a selfishness peculiarly repellent and difficult to extirpate; for as Professor Mackenzie observes, "the evil spirit is there masquerading as an angel of light."⁴⁴

CHAPTER IV

PRIMITIVE NOTIONS OF KINSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP

Distinction between Kinship and Relationship.—To gain any adequate idea of primitive parental and filial relations, one must understand something of primitive principles of kinship. These notions are complex and by no means always clear. They are inseparable from the whole web of savage tribal organization and philosophy of life. The exact form of most primitive social organization, whether an amorphous consanguineous horde, a system of gentes and clans, or some more complex tribal form, is perhaps indeterminable. Speculation is rife, but no absolute conclusions have been established. This much is pretty certain, however, that neither the family as we know it nowadays, nor the individual was the unit; but rather the clan, whether based on totemism or otherwise; and that in consequence, the individual was subordinate to the clan group. Furthermore, the immediate result of such a system—or shall we say the cause of it?—was the distinction between kinship and relationship. It would hardly be exact to say that primitive peoples made a hard and fast distinction between the two; yet in practice there does seem to have been some such distinction. Kinship was

the more essential fact, and relationship secondary. In modern terminology, kinship was conventional, relationship natural. Yet we must not make the mistake of supposing that primitive minds thus considered the facts; to the contrary, what we should call conventional was to them not only natural, but even more natural than nature itself. This will serve to explain or at least illustrate why the group tie so often took precedence over what seems to us the far more obvious narrow tie of blood, why the group bond was closer than that of family. The whole matter might perhaps be reduced to terms of blood relationship; in that case we should have to say that it was rather a general, superficial, more extensive blood-sense than our modern, narrower, more intensive view; that it was rather a mystic, speculative view than a rigid scientific, physiologic view; and that the idea of strict consanguinity developed out of an earlier, more general notion of affinity.¹ On this point Crawley remarks:

"Primitive relationship, it is clear, is at once stronger and weaker than the civilized tie; weaker, because the bond of blood has not assumed a superiority over other relations, close contact being the test; stronger, because the ideas

¹ Mr. Thomas in his *Kinship Organizations and Group Marriage in Australia* (p. 4) thus happily phrases this distinction: "Kinship is sociological, consanguinity physiological." See also M. Giraud-Teulon's *Origines du Mariage*, etc., 132-4; Post, *Die Geschlechts-genossenschaft der Urzeit*, chap. i.; Ellis, *Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, 299; Lippert, ii., 333, etc.; Sumner, *Folkways*, 494-5; Wake, l. c. 254, 267, 363, 387. Crawley considers that relation and relationship are not differentiated in primitive thought (*M. R.*, 468). For familial blood-revenge as an index of primitive family feeling, see Steinmetz, *Ethn. Studien*, etc., i., 368 ff.

of contact which characterize these relations have so intense a religious meaning and enforce duty so stringently."²

Subordination of Family to Group Ties.—Primitive kinship rested, so it appears, on common work, common ownership, common eating³; also, no doubt, on common connection with some eponymous ancestor, though it is not clear whether such a common tracing of descent grew out of the common activities, or *vice versa*. I am inclined to the former view as the more natural. For the connection between food and kinship and between common use of fire and kinship is very clear in primitive thought, and naturally so; the inference being that food produces flesh, and identity of food produces identity of flesh.⁴ However that may be, there is abundant evidence to show the sense of group solidarity, as distinguished from a lax familial sense. Totemism, with its corollary marriage regulations, is a case in point. But even where the family, as in ancient Arabia, was fairly well established, the parental relation

² Crawley, *l. c.* 460; also, Gomme, *l. c.* 231, 268; McLennan, *Studies in Anc. Hist.* 121.

³ Major Powell wrote (*Bur. Ethnol.*, xx., p. cx): "Tribal life is chiefly public life. There is little domestic seclusion; often the house is a communal house for the entire clan or gens. Nearly all hunting is public hunting; nearly all fishing is public fishing; nearly all gathering of seeds is public gathering of seeds; nearly all gathering of roots is public gathering of roots; all agriculture is public agriculture, and all herds are public herds." And he might have added, nearly all sex relations were in common at the beginning, as we have already seen.

⁴ Crawley, *l. c.* 456; cf. Lippert, ii., 336-7; Starcke, *La famille dans les différentes sociétés*, 202. For relation of fire to kinship, see Lippert, *Kgschte.*, i., 265; Weeks, xxxix. J. A. I., 416 ff., Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen*, etc., 232.

was defined not in physiological but in social terms.⁵ Marital relationship, it may be affirmed in general of lower peoples, was subsidiary to group kinship.

Suggestions of this appeared in the preceding chapter. Studies of the American Indian bring it out still more clearly. Fynn, speaking particularly of the Pueblos, says:

"There was nowhere such a family bond as we find in civilization. Marriage among members of the same gens was prohibited; therefore, since the ties of clanship were very strong and the links of matrimony very weak, there was no harmonious, firmly united family, but rather a loosely constructed household. Since the children belonged to the mother, and the mother was a member of a gens different from that of the father, there was always a wide gulf separating the individuals of the domicile. The husband was isolated, perhaps simply tolerated. Plans and secrets existed among the members of the gens rather than between husband and wife."⁶

Bandelier corroborates this statement:

"Since it was the custom for women to raise the walls of buildings, and to finish their house inside and outside, they owned it also. The man was only tolerated. His home was properly with his clan, whither he must return in case his spouse departed this life before him." And again: "The affairs of the father's clan did not concern his wife or his children, whereas a neighbor might be his confidant on such matters. The mother, son, and daughter spoke among themselves of matters of which the father was not entitled to know, and about which he scarcely ever felt enough curiosity to inquire."

⁵ William Roberston Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 119.

⁶ *The American Indian*, 124; cf. Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo*, 43.

Frazer finds this subordination of the family tie to the group or clan bond in general wherever the totemic clan prevails;

"in totem tribes every local group being necessarily composed (owing to exogamy) of members of at least two totem clans, is liable to be dissolved at any moment into its totem elements by the outbreak of a blood feud, in which the husband and wife must always (if the feud is between their clans) be arrayed on opposite sides, and in which the children will be arrayed against either their father or their mother, according as descent is traced through the mother, or through the father. . . . Members of the same clan are buried together and apart from those of other clans, hence the remains of husband and wife, belonging as they do to separate clans, do not rest together." ⁷

The Indian proverb cited from Loskiel in a preceding paragraph also sustains this notion. Major Gurdin observes that among the Jowai "the man is nobody . . . if he be a husband he is looked upon merely as *u shong kha*, a begetter."⁸ Another writer notes of the Khasi Hill people that the husband visits his wife occasionally in her own home, where "he seems merely entertained to continue the family to which his wife belongs."⁹ Among the Chukchi of northeastern Asia it is said that the family

⁷ Bandelier, *The Delight Makers*, 27, 14; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i., 53, 75; cf. Morgan, *Anc. Soc.*, 83 ff.; *id.*, *Houses and House Life*, etc., pp. vi., 200, 275; Post, *Familienrechts*, 87, 99; Gibbs, in *Contrib. to N. A. Ethnol.*, i., 198; McGee and Thomas, *Prehistoric North America*, 425; Cushing, *Primitive Motherhood*, 24-5; Barbeau, *Man*, June, 1 12, p. 85.

⁸ *The Khasis*, 76, 82, cited by Gomme.

⁹ *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, xii., 625; see also Graham, *Bheel Tribes of Kandish*, 3, cited by Gomme; Hartland, *Rise of Fatherhood*, cited by Lubbock, *Marriage, Totemism and Religion*, 22.

60 Primitive Family and Education

tie is the strongest social relation "but it is so broad as to include the clan."¹⁰

Another group of facts indicates the subordination of marital relationship to group kinship, viz., the power of the maternal uncle; he often has more authority than the father in the care and discipline of the father's own children; he is also often the sole or chief heir where the maternal family system prevails.¹¹ Furthermore, though the case is not universal, theories of the soul play a part in this subordination. For example, every true Kafir has two personalities: his *idhlozi* or individual, personal, inalienable spirit; and his *itongo* or ancestral spirit, which is not personal but tribal, and comes not by birth but by initiatory rites. To be without this clan or tribal spirit is the greatest calamity a Kafir can

¹⁰ Bogoras, in *Am. Anthropol.*, iii., n. s., 101. As an example of the feeling of insufficiency with which primitive men regard the family might be cited the Indian's aversion for farm life. This does not proceed from a disregard for property, nor a distaste for agriculture or work in general, but rather from the hatred of isolation and restriction to the narrow limits of familial life. Mr. Hailmann says: "The isolation of farm life is distasteful to them. They prefer, therefore, to lease their lands to white farmers and to enjoy the meager income from this source and from certain government annuities in tribal bands and villages as heretofore" (*Education of the Indian*, p. 26).

¹¹ But even where descent is strictly paternal, as in Torres Straits, the authority of the maternal uncle is maintained, and his relationship is considered nearer than that between father and son. Among the Ba-yaka of the Congo, a child belongs to the village of the maternal uncle. Among certain Gold Coast natives a father cannot pawn his child without the uncle's consent, etc. See *J. A. I.*, xxxvi., 45, 186; xxxi., Appendix, 171; Lippert, i., 125. Among the Ba-Kwese of southwestern Congo Free State, "inheritance is uncertain, but it appears that a man's heir is his brother" (Torday and Joyce, xxxvii. *J. A. I.*, 149). For an example of the paternal aunt playing the rôle customarily occupied by the maternal uncle, see Rivers, *Folklore*, xxi., 42-59.

conceive. Such a man, says Kidd, "goes through life unprotected"; that is, his ancestral guardian angel is lacking.¹²

Sex Taboos.—Furthermore, sex taboos and their concomitant sex solidarity are an important factor in that lack of close family life which marks primitive society. The widespread institution of the Men's House (also Women's House, Club House, etc.) was probably an outgrowth of sex solidarity, and strongly affected not only the marital but also the parental relation. Ellis found, for example, that in the Society and Sandwich Islands, as soon as a boy was able to eat, his food was kept distinct from that of his mother, and brothers and sisters might not eat together from the earliest age.¹³

In Fiji, although some degree of domesticity is maintained, yet

"there is too much reserve to allow the social element full influence. A general kindness of manner is prevalent, but the high attachments which constitute friendship are known to very few. A free flow of affections between members of the same family is further prevented by the strict observance of national or religious customs imposing a most unnatural restraint. Brothers and sisters, first cousins, fathers and sons-in-law, mothers and daughters-in-law, and brothers and sisters-in-law, are thus severally forbidden to speak to each other or to eat from the same dish. The latter embargo extends to husbands and wives—an arrangement not likely to foster domestic joy. Husbands are as frequently away from their wives as with

¹² *Savage Childhood*, 15.

¹³ *Polynesian Researches*, i., 263.¹

them, since it is thought not well for a man to sleep regularly at home."¹⁴

Among the Ja-luo of the Uganda Protectorate, "Father and son eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses."¹⁵ Among the Kavirondo, "A father does not eat with his sons, nor do brothers eat together; women invariably partake of their food after the men have done."¹⁶ The aborigines of Santa Maria (Colombia) did not live together as man and wife in the night because of a belief that a child conceived in the night will be born blind; nor did they live together at any time, but occupied separate huts with a great stone between them to which the woman brought her husband's food.¹⁷ Crawley cites a long list of ethnologic observations on the separation of men and women as in the examples just given; they include tribes from every quarter of the globe, Kafirs, Zulus, American Indians, New Guineans, Marquesans, Coreans, Senegambians, etc., etc.; and many others might be added to his list. Indeed his particular remark concerning the Pelew Islanders might almost be erected into a generalization: " . . . men and women hardly live together, and family life is impossible."¹⁸

¹⁴ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 107; cf. Ratzel (2d Germ. ed.), ii., 276; cf. the Mosquito Indians, among whom it was "improper" for women to display emotion over their husbands, xxix. *J. A. I.*, 339.

¹⁵ Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 787.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ii., 735; cf. *J. A. I.*, xxix., 82; xxx., 27-8; Captain Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, ii., 156.

¹⁷ Nicholas in *Am. Anthropol.*, iii., n. s., 617, translating from an eighteenth century Spanish friar.

¹⁸ Crawley, *l. c.* 37-50; p. 40 he says, "Family life as we know it is utterly unknown in Corea." See, also, Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 1; Jenks, *Bontoc Igorot*, 58; Werner, *British Central Africa*, 148; Bennett, xxix. *J. A. I.*, 70-1; Rivet, in *L'Anthropologie*, xviii., 608.

Sex taboos were no doubt based on primitive theories of contact, of communication. Hence it is not surprising that all children during their *premier enfance* are relegated to the mother, while the later care and training of male children are assumed by the men. This notion perhaps cuts some figure also in such divorce customs as that of the Botocudos, where in the event of a separation the children stay with their mother during their early years, but later rejoin their father.¹⁹ For in primitive thought the woman is usually regarded literally as a weaker vessel, whose weakness is transmissible. Hence in many tribes man and wife seldom share the same bed. The reason the Bareas give is that "the breath of the wife weakens the husband."²⁰ Effeminacy is construed into something tangible and "catching." Among the Omahas, if a boy played with girls he was dubbed "hermaphrodite"; and in the Wiraijuri tribe "boys are reproved for playing with girls—the culprit is taken aside by an old man, who solemnly extracts from his legs 'some strands of the woman's apron' which have got in."²¹

Family Bond Weak.—It is evident, then, that group solidarity, whether based on sex or other circumstances, tended to subordinate and weaken the marital relationship. This must have had enormous significance in every aspect and function of the family. And the

¹⁹ D'Orbigny, *l. c.*, 157.

²⁰ A survival of this idea of communicating weakness appears in the objection to children's sleeping with older people; the negative hygienic reasons are known only by their apparent effects which are lumped together under a positive heading "contamination."

²¹ Crawley, *l. c.*, 93; for examples from modern Europe, see *ibid.*, 203-4.

weakness of the family bond appears even more strikingly when we come to consider primitive notions of the parental relations. Sir John Lubbock summarizes the progress of these notions, thus:

"Children were not in the earliest times regarded as related equally to their father and mother . . . the natural progress of ideas is, first, that a child is related to his tribe generally; secondly, to his mother, and not to his father; lastly, and lastly only, that he is related to both."²²

This seems a fair *résumé* of the case, though, as in the attempt to set down the sequence of familial forms, there can be no pretense to a universal rule. The familiar statement that in primitive times maternity was a matter of fact, paternity one of presumption, has been hotly disputed; largely, I believe, because of the supposed implication of promiscuity.²³ But even supposing that the promiscuity theory must go by the board, that in itself is no sufficient reason for rejecting the dictum as to presumptive paternity. For evidence abounds on the hazy ideas of primitive men as to the nature of reproduction, the connection of sex relations with conception; in fact, to them the whole process of self-perpetuation is more or less of a blur. This is not strange if we stop to consider the savage's general misty notions of nature-processes, and of the limits of his own personality.

Procreation in Primitive Myth.—Where do babies

²² *Origin of Civilization*, 3d. ed., 149. Wake in quoting the passage criticizes this view as being an incorrect use of "tribe," and offers "clan" as the proper term.

²³ For denials of uncertainty of paternity as the reason for fixing descent in the maternal line, see Wake, *l. c.*, 343; Crawley, *l. c.*, 461.

come from, and how do they get here? are two of the child's earliest questions. They must have suggested themselves also to primitive men. Mythology and folklore, as well as ethnography, contain frequent references to the subject. Totemism, classification of relationships, systems of descent, and other practices are based on attempts to work out the problem by rule of thumb. The institution of "maternal descent" is one of the most obvious and natural solutions thus attained. The connection of mother and child must by the nature of things have been unescapable to beings having the slightest powers of observation and ratiocination. Yet its full significance was never fully grasped. In fact we are still grappling with the problem and are yet far from its final solution. Primitive man seized upon the general idea of physical maternity, the creating of new life; but he did not confine this power to the human female, nor the females of his animal familiars. In accordance with his animistic philosophy he endowed inanimate nature with the same faculty, or at least conceived that the human and the not-human worked along somewhat parallel lines. Hence the Kafir calls little stones the *children* of big ones, and villages the *children* of towns.

But this is not all: animals may bear human children, and stocks and stones conceive and bring forth, *but not necessarily according to their kind*. Creation myths are full of these ideas. An Iroquois legend, for example, relates that the first of men were formed of the flour of maize. The oldest name for the Allegheny Mountains is said to be Paemotinck or Pemolnick, an Algonkin word probably meaning "the origin of the

Indians." A Wichita tradition holds that their ancestors issued from the rocks about their homes.

Other tribes have the same idea, *e.g.*, the Tahkalis, Navajos, Coyoteras. The Kenai, Kolushes, and Atnai claim descent from a raven, really the Creator Raven. The Dogribs, Chippeways, and Hare Indians, as well as the west coast Eskimos and Aleuts all believe they have sprung from a dog. The California Diggers claim the humble coyote, the Lenni Lenape the wolf, for ancestor. Osage Indian tradition makes a snail the founder of their nation. The Mewan Indians of California ascribe their origin to feathers of the turkey-buzzard, raven, and crow, stuck in the ground by two animal culture heroes.²⁴ A Greenland creation myth as related to Rasmussen runs thus: "When the world was made, people came. They say that they came out of the earth. Babies came out of the earth,"²⁵ etc. Certain tribes of New Guinea make a dog and a python the original inhabitants of the earth; they met one day, were very lonely, and suggested marriage; the suggestion was quickly carried out; the python produced three human children, two male and one female who married one another and produced children, who in their turn married one another, and so on.²⁶ The list of such tales might be prolonged. Other myths or legends not distinctly of the Creation Cycle contribute similar facts. The Papuan folk tale of Dabedabe the Good relates how "a certain man had a pig which left him and gave birth to

²⁴ Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 84, 166-7, 181, 223-32; Lewis and Clarke, *Travels*, i., 12; Merriam, *The Dawn of the World*, 83-7, 67-8, 115; Matthews, "Myths of Gestation and Parturition," in *Am. Anthropol.*, iv., n. s., 731-42; see also Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i., 5-10.

²⁵ Rasmussen, *People of the Polar North*, 100.

²⁶ Guise, in xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 205-6.

her young in the bush. Now five of them were pigs like their mother, but the sixth was a man child, and him his mother loved best of all."²⁷

I am quite willing to see in most of these cases evidences of totemism. But I am not prepared to accept Mr. Brinton's generalization to the effect that not a "single example could be found where an Indian tribe had a tradition whose real purport was that man came by natural process of descent from an ancestor, a brute." It is quite probable, as Mr. Hill Tout suggests,²⁸ that these animal ancestors are not now considered to have been "just common animals and nothing else" but are held to have been *persons* as well; but this appears as a rationalization of a still more primitive belief. I cannot stop here to discuss the whole question in its details; but I believe this inference to be just, viz., that *primitive myths and legends manifest gross uncertainty regarding not only the original creation of man, but also the share of parents in procreation.*

Sex Relations between Men and Animals.—We may be sure it was not mere courtesy or fantasy which ruled that if rocks and trees and animals could bear human children, likewise human mothers might bring forth animal offspring. It is not surprising, therefore, to find an Eskimo legend which relates how originally all men were Eskimos; but that one of the girls being unwilling to marry, she was forced by her father to wed a dog; she gave birth to ten children: two dogs, two *erqigdlit* (dogs with men's heads), two Eskimos, two

²⁷ Annie Ker, *Papuan Fairy Tales*, 13.

²⁸ *J. A. I.*, xxxiv., 325-6.

qavdlunât (white men), and two *qavdlunâtsait* (white men of warlike disposition).²⁹ In one of the Japanese Shinto myths an ancient culture pair are represented as giving birth first to a child, then to the island of Aha.³⁰ A Naga creation legend runs thus: "The world was populated by the offspring of one mother, who emerged from the ground and at one time gave birth to a man, a bear, a deer, a tiger, an elephant, a rat, and a mouse. These multiplied and filled the world."³¹ Into a similar category of facts should be placed those myths of marriages or love relations between human beings and animals, *e.g.*, Leda and the swan, the ladies of the fairy tales who marry frog princes, etc., the Kafir legends of Dumangashe who married the crocodile, and Mpunzanyana who became the bride of a five-headed snake; and similar Hindu legends. Here, too, perhaps belong the middle age superstitions of incubus and succubus. It would of course be absurd to claim literal belief for these and similar tales. But at some time or other more or less belief was accorded them. Imagination does not work *in vacuo*, nor make bricks without straw. This much is evident: that in primitive minds there are no high fences between the kingdoms of nature; and nowhere does this cosmic democracy reveal itself better than in notions of procreation.

²⁹ Rasmussen, *l. c.*, 194-5; *cf.* Boas, "Sagen der Indianer in Nord-west-America," *Ztschft. f. Ethnologie*, xxiv., 330-1; xxvi., 303.

³⁰ Buckley, *Phallicism in Japan*, 23.

³¹ W. H. Furness, on *Nagas of Eastern Assam*, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 459. The Malays believe that deer sprang from a man who suffered from a severe ulcer or abscess on the leg! (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 170-1). *Cf.* the Aino myth of human mothers suckling bears which gradually developed into men (cited by Tylor, *Anthropology*, 73).

Origin of Babies.—To return to our question, Where do babies come from? The replies of primitive men are curious if not illuminating. For instance, among the Semang pigmies of the Malay Peninsula,

“birds are believed to be the vehicles for the introduction of souls into the newborn child, and all human souls grow upon a soul-tree in the other world, whence they are fetched by a bird which is killed and eaten by the expectant mother.”³²

In Gazaland,

“the children are told that when men break their bows by overstraining them, babies emerge from the split in the wood. How many a child has watched his father as he bent his bow, eagerly anticipating the appearance of a baby!”³³

The Japanese used to ascribe the origin of their babies to water; the Chinese, to plants, and called certain plants Fa-kung-mo, *i. e.*, Flower-grandfather and mother; the Basutos derived them from the marshes. And did not the learned Porphyry think all souls came to be born “because of water”? The ancient Germans thought they rode down on storks out of Engelland above the clouds, or flew down in the shape of mayflies, white butterflies, or perhaps in lightning flashes. Other peoples ascribed them to springs, frogs, stones, rocks, caves, the earth, fire, hollow trees, cabbages,

³² Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, ii., 4, 192, 194.

³³ Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, 86.

parsley beds, etc.³⁴ In fact the modern parent's evasive answer to this question, and his reference of the inquirer to a cabbage, a rose, or the knot of a tree is merely a survival of such ancient beliefs as that of the Aruntas whose "sky-dweller" "laid germs of the little boys in the mistletoe branches, germs of the little girls among the split stones."³⁵ Somewhat more ethereal, yet scarcely more definite, are the various forms of the reincarnation idea; for example, among certain Australian and Melanesian tribes as reported by Codrington. With the latter, the child is considered to be the *nunu* (which might be translated the *echo*) of some dead person, *or of some inanimate object*. The metempsychosis is perhaps not literal, but the connection is so close that the infant takes the place of the deceased.³⁶

Ignorance of Father's Share in Reproduction.—The *nunu* theory of the Melanesians, especially as applied to natural objects, is by no means confined to that people; on the contrary it is fairly common, and so suggestive that Codrington hinted at its possible explanation of totemism. And Frazer later built a whole theory of totemism on this phase of primitive belief. Codrington in the article above noted says that in the island of Aurora, Maewo, in the New Hebrides, "women sometimes have a notion that the origin, beginning,

³⁴ Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte der Völker*, ii., 12; Höfler, *Der Kohl*, in *Hess. Bl. f. Volkskde.* (Leipz., 1910), ix., 161-90; Thurnwald, *Ztschft. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xxiii., 309-64; M'Kenzie, *Folk-Lore*, xviii., 253 ff.; Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, 12; Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province*, etc. (Jackson, 1880), i., 519.

³⁵ Lang, *Secret of the Totem*, 81.

³⁶ Codrington, xviii. *J. A. I.*, 310-11; cf. Mrs. Milne, *The Shans at Home* (Lond., 1911), p. III.

of one of their children is a cocoanut or a bread-fruit, or something of that kind . . . it is a fancy of the woman before the birth of the child that the infant may be the *nunu* of such an object." Frazer says:

"Naturally enough when she is first aware of the mysterious movement within her, the mother fancies that something has that very moment passed into her body, and it is equally natural that in her attempt to ascertain what the thing is she should fix upon some object that happened to be near her and to engage her attention at the critical moment. Thus if she chanced at the time to be watching a kangaroo, or collecting grass-seed for food, or bathing in water, or sitting under a gum-tree, she might imagine that the spirit of a kangaroo, of grass-seed, of water, or of a gum-tree, had passed into her, and accordingly, that when her child was born, it was really a kangaroo, a grass-seed, water, or a gum-tree, though to the bodily eye it presented the outward form of a human being."³⁷

In one of Mr. Yeats' charming collections of Irish folklore occurs the tale of a king who, in the midst of his mourning because he has no son, was advised to get a certain fish for his wife to eat. By some mischance the cook touched the fish with her finger before it was sent up to the queen. Within the year both cook and queen bore sons, *so alike that they could not be told apart*.³⁸ *The fish did it*, as in the other cases it was the cocoanut, the kangaroo, the grass-seed, or the gum-tree. In judging of such ideas we must remember the

³⁷ Frazer, *Fortnightly Review*, Sept., 1905, pp. 453, 455-8, etc. See Mr. Thomas' criticism of this theory in his *Kinship Organisations*, etc., pp. 12 ff.

³⁸ W. B. Yeats, *The Celtic Twilight*, 209 ff.

post hoc, ergo propter hoc to which is prone not only the savage, but also every untrained, undisciplined mind. Frazer goes so far as to say of the Aruntas that their system

"ignores altogether the intercourse of the sexes as the cause of offspring, and further, it ignores the tie of blood on the maternal as well as the paternal side . . . the natives themselves deny explicitly that children are the fruit of the commerce of the sexes. So astounding an ignorance of natural causation cannot but date from a past immeasurably remote."³⁹

And yet, however remote its origins, survivals of such ignorance persist even in present-day America. I have encountered more than one case of mothers (one in particular the mother of seven children) whose ideas in this matter were not a whit above the Aruntas'.⁴⁰ An excellent mystical rendering of this primitive belief is to be found in the late William Vaughn Moody's *The Daguerreotype*:

"God, how thy ways are strange!

.

That this should be indeed
The flesh which caught my soul, a flying seed,
Out of the to and fro
Of scattering hands where the seedsman Mage
Stooping from star to star and age to age
Sings as he sows!"

³⁹ Frazer, *l. c.* Cf. letter from Prof. Baldwin Spencer cited by Frazer in *Man*, May, 1912, p. 72: a recent expedition through all the tribes extending from north to south across Central Australia found all believing that sexual intercourse has nothing, of necessity, to do with procreation.

⁴⁰ Here might be cited also current superstitions on the effect of

Hence, whatever other inferences are to be drawn from such facts, this much is evident, that at least the notion of the father's connection with the birth of his child is often nebulous and indefinite. And in cases where some connection is admitted it is only to the extent that the father is believed by the act of copulation to make the mother's conception and deliverance easier, or to prepare her, as it were, for the catching of the "flying seed," for the reception of the child-spirit from some mysterious exterior source. Such notions of course get themselves expressed in codes of conduct and systems of relationship. According to the ideas of the Yakuts, for instance, the woman has the greater share in procreation. A man whose wife gave birth to a monstrosity refused any responsibility for it. Their word for mother means "the procreatress," but the word for father should be translated simply "older man." Similarly among the Zuzi Indians the name for woman is *O-kyä*, "creator (or maker) of being."⁴¹ A curious piece of evidence comes from Australia to show the effect of such notions on kinship. Speaking of the Dieri people who practice funeral cannibalism, here an honorific rite, a sign of mourning, R. Brough Smyth says:

"The order in which they partake of their dead relatives is this: The mother eats of her children; the children eat of their mother. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law

prenatal experiences of the mother in producing birthmarks and monstrous deformations in her offspring.

⁴¹ Sieroshevsky, *The Yakuts*, translated and arranged by Sumner, reprinted from xxxi. *J. A. I.*, pp. 80-92; Cushing, *Primitive Motherhood*, 27.

eat of each other. Uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, grandfather, and grandmother eat of each other. But the father does not eat of his offspring, or the offspring of their sire."⁴²

This is an excellent example of failure to recognize a close paternal relation, though the mother connection is accepted. But even in cases where the paternal relationship is fairly understood, but the maternal clan prevails as the social unit, the mother is dominant. The Seri Indian father, for example, plays second fiddle in both domestic and tribal affairs, save in times of actual warfare, when the women retire to a subordinate legislative place. He has no authority over his children. "There is indeed some question as to the clear recognition of paternity; certainly the females have no term for 'my father,' *i.e.*, the term is the same as that for 'my mother.'"⁴³ We are altogether justified, then, in concluding that *amongst primitive peoples paternity is often uncertain* not necessarily because of promiscuity, but because of ignorance of the vital processes involved in procreation. It is evident that under the cloud of such uncertainty the father must be relegated to an unimportant place in the authority over and nurture of the child, unless other beliefs and customs overruled or checkmated this particular belief.⁴⁴

⁴² *The Aborigines of Victoria*, etc., i., 120; see xvii. *J. A. I.*, p. 186, for a different interpretation of this custom.

⁴³ McGee, *Bur. Ethnol.*, xvii., 272.

⁴⁴ I am quite aware that several writers, among them Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. Howitt, take but little stock in the supposed ignorance of some of the peoples mentioned. See, *e. g.*, Lang, *Secret of the Totem*, 81, 124, 191; Howitt, in xii. *J. A. I.*, 502. The rôle of the Sky-Father and

Couvade.—The widespread custom of the Couvade may be interpreted as an attempt artificially to establish the father's connection with his offspring. If we bear in mind that it obtains almost exclusively under the father-family system, and also recall the literal power of the "word" and the "symbol" in

Earth-Mother in Creation myths reveals a general notion of sex functions. Yet they are evidently products of later anthropomorphism. On the other hand, Mr. E. S. Hartland in his *Study of Primitive Paternity* (Lond., 1910) attributes the general belief in supernatural birth to *ignorance of the physical relation of father to child*. To the same source must be attributed also the myths surrounding the birth of Buddha, Christ, and other religion-heroes. See, e. g., L. de Milloni's article on resemblances between Buddhism and Christianity in *Musée Guimet Conférences*, vol. xxx. The existence of Phallic cults might be offered as an argument against the position here assumed. It is true that Phallicism formed an integral part generally of Oriental religion (India, Greece, Rome, ancient Egypt, but not the Parsees); in the Japanese cult of Inyōsaki; the Teutonic Fricco; the ancient Mexican corn-festival *ochpaniztli*. But it is doubtful if Phallicism in Japan was specially ancient; the myths describing it were not reduced to writing till the 8th century A. D. It is therefore impossible to say how much of the myth is genuinely ancient and how much is *rédacteur*. I have been able to find only scanty traces of Phallicism in savagery. An unimportant reference occurs in Johnston's *Uganda*, ii., 868. Ellis finds phallic fertility-divinities among Yorubas and Ewes (*Y.-S. P.*, 78, *E.-S. P.*, 41-2). See also Bastian, *Afrikanische Reisen*, 228; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, 413-4, 453; Bent, xxii. *J. A. I.*, 124-6; Rossbach, *Römische Ehe*, 371; Buckley, *Phallicism in Japan*; Cushing, *Primitive Motherhood*, 41; Preuss, "Phallische Fruchtbarkeits-Dämonen," *Archiv f. Anthropol.*, xxix., 129 ff.; Maurer, "Der Phallusdienst bei den Israeliten," 92 *Globus*, 257; Nadaillac, *Prehistoric America*, 159, 338. It is certain that Phallicism does not exist among tribes manifesting gross ignorance of sex matters. Certainly it is to be found, if at all, only rarely below the barbaric stage in human development. Neither should circumcision be taken as *prima-facie* evidence of sex understanding; for it frequently is purely a tribal mark, without the slightest reference to the procreative process.

primitive philosophy, *we may explain the Couvade as a symbolic act whereby the father recognizes his relationship to the child, expresses his interest in it, and attempts to render its entry into the world as safe and auspicious as possible. This solicitude commonly expresses itself in a system of taboos, usually on food and labor of certain kinds.* A Panguan blacksmith of Borneo said "that he could not touch any ironwork without the body of his infant son turning the color of fire; and on his lifting the hammer while engaged at his forge, the child instantly commenced screeching and crying."⁴⁵ Among the Indians of Guiana,

"if the father infringes any of the rules of couvade, for a time after the birth of the child, the latter suffers. For instance, if he eats the flesh of the water-haas (capybara), a large rodent with very protruding teeth, the teeth of the child will grow as those of the animal; or if he eats the flesh of the spotted skinned labba, the child's skin will become spotted. Apparently there is also some idea that for the father to eat strong food, to wash, to smoke, or to handle weapons, would have the same result as if the new-born baby ate such food, washed, smoked, or played with edged tools."⁴⁶

The rôle of sympathetic magic in such regulations is almost too obvious for mention. They rest, so it seems, on notions of communication, sympathy, and parallelism in primitive psychology, on some "mere imaginative theory of sympathy, the basis of all sympathetic

⁴⁵ H. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, etc., i., 98.

⁴⁶ E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 218-9; cf. similar taboos among Nyasa (Gurbutt, *Man*, March, 1912, p. 40).

magic."⁴⁷ The relationship-symbolism is to my mind no less evident, though it has been abundantly questioned. M. Giraud-Teulon regards the Couvade as an *imitation* of nature, intended to give color to the fiction that the father had brought forth the child, and was for it a second mother, such a pretense being the only way in which a bond could be established between the father and his child.⁴⁸ Such a fiction is quite comparable to that of adoption. But neither of them could have prevailed except in a fairly high culture status. It is evident, then, that if even in such higher cultures a fiction was necessary to establish a natural relation, the naturalness of the relation must have escaped observers of that time, and still more so the peoples of remoter times.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Andrew Lang, in his Preface to Ling Roth's *Natives of Sarawak*, etc., p. viii.

⁴⁸ *La Mère*, 33; *Les Origines du Mariage*, etc., 138 ff.

⁴⁹ There is an abundant bibliography on Couvade, and an equally wide diversity of opinion. Ploss, *Das Kind*, i., 144-60, gives an excellent digest of the extent and meaning of the custom. Peschel, *l. c.*, 24-5, gives many examples and references. Also Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, 547 ff.; Codrington, *Melanesians*, 228-9. A classic case occurs in the medieval French romance *Aucassin and Nicolette*. Bachofen, Frazer, and Tylor make it a symbolic pretense, a legal fiction, whereby the father asserts his paternity. Tylor at one time emphasized the "sympathetic magic" side of many of these rites; and this is the common theory, e.g., in Thurn, Lubbock. Crawley (*Mystic Rose*, 416 ff.) sees in it a form of "disguise," whereby the father simulates the mother and substitutes himself for her to fool any malevolent spirits that might be lurking about, and to ward off their evil influence (birth being peculiarly liable to spirit machinations). H. Ling Roth (xxii. *J. A. I.*, 224-40) makes it a magical rite; transition to paternal family incidental but not causal. Hellwald, *Die Menschliche Familie*, 362: an expiatory offering to the malevolent spirits which threaten the child. Lippert, *Die Geschichte der Familie*, 213 ff.;

Terms of Relationship.—Primitive language also offers some evidence as to the hazy ideas of parenthood held by lower peoples. Morgan worked out an elaborate theory of relationship in early society based upon a study of rudimentary languages. We are not bound to accept his conclusions of primeval communism, group marriage, etc., nor indeed do we need to push too literally his scheme of classificatory relationship. We are, however, justified in interpreting his data as proving group solidarity and loose family ties.⁵⁰ Personal relationship plays a large part in primitive language. More than that, "the fundamental personal conception is an 'our' or 'we' in which 'my' and 'I' are involved but not distinguished."⁵¹ It is collective; it regards certain human beings as forming a group, and this group as including the members. Language, we cannot doubt, arose in the group. Its first efforts, then, "would probably express the relations of thing and thought common to all members of the group at the same time; and

Kulturgeschichte, ii., 312: a redemption sacrifice rendered by the father in place of actual sacrifice of the first born. Mr. Gerald Massey, *The Natural Genesis*, i., 117 ff.: asserts that in the Couvade the parent identifies himself with the infant child, into which he has been typically transformed; and tries to explain it by a reference to Khefr, the Egyptian god, who was the *creator by transformation*. This view seems gratuitously far-fetched. It implies a belief in sympathetic magic; but the methods of sympathetic magic and their application to the case in point are to my mind much more intelligibly dealt with by Mr. im Thurn.

⁵⁰ See Morgan, *Ancient Soc.*, chapters on Classificatory Relationship; an early observation of this institution may be found in Father Lafitau's *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains* (Paris, 1724), i., 552. The criticisms of Morgan's theory have been peculiarly persistent and severe. See, e. g., Crawley, *M. R.*, 468 ff.; Wake, *l. c.*, 129, 271, 331; Thomas, *K. and M. in A.*, chap. xi.

⁵¹ E. J. Payne, *History of America*, ii., 183-4.

these would be conceived by each member as affecting not merely himself but all his co-members.⁵² This collective or *we-form* is very common in the grammar of American aboriginal language; and the selective or *I-form* less common, exceptional, in fact.

"The principle of considering personality as at the same time collective and selective seems to have been so deeply ingrained in the habit of thought, that it extended itself not merely to the first person singular, but to the second person as well as the first, and even to the third as well as the first and second; and the plural forms of these persons are thus modified as well as the singular ones."⁵³

It was inevitable that with the growth of intelligence, the selective *I* and *mine* must more and more emerge. Whose deer is this? might well be answered *ours*, by a member of some primitive group. But, Whose child is this? must in time have elicited a more or less clear-cut *mine*. Yet we might conceive of a time when *ours* would have answered either question satisfactorily. Indeed, Professor Kohler in a series of articles ardently defending Morgan's theories, especially of group marriage, asserts that the primeval collectivity of women peculiar to group marriage would have produced exactly this phenomenon. If all the members of a certain generation called a collectivity of men "fathers," and

⁵² See for discussion on this social character of knowledge, W. Jerusalem in *Die Zukunft*, 1909, pp. 236-46; E. Durkheim, *Année Sociologique*, xi.; W. K. Clifford, *Lectures and Essays*, ii., 56-58; Waitz, *Anthropology*, i., 277; K. Pearson, *Grammar of Science*, 3d ed., i., 184; Levy-Bruhl, *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, 37, 35, etc.

⁵³ Payne, *l. c.*, 188.

"mothers" a collectivity of women (according to Morgan's system of classification), it was because they considered themselves as the issue of this *group* of men and this *group* of women. For the primitive man the group of women whom he calls "mothers" forms a real individual, a single personality endowed with a plurality of genital organs. Hence it is not surprising to find that he considered himself peculiarly related to this multiple personality. All of which would mean, too, that every child is *ours* to the group mother.⁵⁴ This view of collective parenthood is perhaps purely fantastic as M. Durkheim sharply insists.⁵⁵ Yet the matter of group marriage, and, in fact, the whole question of primitive marriage, is still such debatable territory that we cannot dismiss off-hand even such a theory as this, the more so, considering the many curious anomalies and inconsistencies presented in primitive mind. To exclaim, Absurd! in no wise disposes of a group of facts or even conjectures concerning savage life. Whatever the literal truth in Professor Kohler's theory, there still remains the strong probability of a close, if unintelligent, feeling of group solidarity.

Other facts seem to bear out this assumption. Among savage and barbarous tribes, Morgan says there is no

⁵⁴ Kohler, "Ueber Totemismus u. Urehe," in *Ztschft. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xix., 171-88; "Eskimo u. Gruppenehe," *ibid.*, xix., 423-32; "Nochmals ueber Gruppenehe u. Totemismus," *ibid.* xxi., 252-67.

⁵⁵ *L'Année Sociologique*, 1906-9, 360; it is perhaps to us fantastic, but it is none the less true, that the combining of totems due to intertribal fusion gave rise frequently to notions of multiple parenthood, especially where divine fetish-totem ancestors were concerned. The Egyptian king Thotmes IV, e.g., had for his divine father all the four gods Hormachu, Ra, Tum, and Chepra; hence group parenthood is not *a priori* inconceivable.

name for the family; whatever personal names exist, either have no family reference, or indicate the *gens*.⁵⁶ This is clearly brought out in the Australian marriage system. A paucity of general concepts, with its correlative lack of general terms in language, existed among the Indians of Lower California; and to such an extent that our ideas of duty and relationship were unintelligible to them. The impossibility of expressing the general idea "father" made it hopeless for Baegert to impress on these Indians any idea of the obligations of a father toward his children.⁵⁷ Gomme insists in opposition to Thomas that the lack of a term to express definite relationship between mother and child in Australian language is not due to meagerness of language, but because the physical fact is of no significance.⁵⁸ This contention seems to be sustained by the Yakut language.

"The Yakuts employ the term 'child' or 'my child' not only to their own proper children, but also to the children of brothers, or of sisters, or even to brothers and sisters themselves, if they are very much younger. They have not, therefore, in their genealogical terminology any words for son and daughter which testify directly to a blood relationship between specific persons. The word which we translate 'son' strictly means 'boy,' 'youth,'

⁵⁶ *Anc. Soc.*, 78, 227, 233, etc.

⁵⁷ Baegert, *l. c.*, 394-8.

⁵⁸ Gomme, *l. c.*, 232; cf. Schrader, *Preh. Antiq.*, 379: "No terminology distinguishing with precision between the ascendants of the father and the mother" can be traced in original Indo-European languages. This he attributes to the lowly position of the aged in ethnic society; e.g., the Old High German word for parent was *eltiron* = the old ones.

'young person.' It was formerly used as a collective for the body of warriors, or the young men of the tribe or *sib*. With the addition of the possessive 'my,' this term is addressed vituperatively by old men not only to their own sons by blood, but also to any young males who stand in any relationship to them. In a narrow sense, it may be addressed to one's own son, or, with a prefix, to one's grandson, and then with other proper prefixes, to grandnephews of the second and third degree. The terms for females are entirely parallel in sense and use. The lack of words to distinguish between 'son' and 'boy,' 'daughter' and 'girl,' is not due to the poverty of the language; on the contrary, their genealogical terms astonish us by their abundance and variety. . . . In view of the great abundance of the denominatives for relationships which we should regard as relatively remote, of the lack of special terms for 'son' and 'daughter,' and of the confusion of these with more remote degrees of relationship and likewise with the expressions 'boy' and 'girl,' which they use to indicate especially sex and point of growth, we infer beyond a doubt that, at the time when the present system of genealogical relationships took its origin amongst the Yakuts, *the precise genetic connection of any given boy with his parents had no especial denomination.*"⁵⁹

A final quotation from Codrington should make clear the view of parental uncertainty here maintained.

"In Mota the word used for mother is the same that is used for the division, *veve*, with a plural sign *ra veve*. And it is not that a man's kindred are so called after his mother, but that his mother is called his kindred, as if she were the representative of the division to which he belongs; as if he

⁵⁹ Sieroshevsky-Sumner, *l. c.*, 90-1.

were not the child of a particular woman, but of the whole kindred for whom she has brought him into the world . . . the wife or husband has the plural designation, because the individual man or woman represents all the rest who are in a position to be wives or husbands."⁶⁰

I am fully alive to the pitfalls which philology offers to the student of sociology or ethnology. The discussion in this paragraph pretends to nothing except that language suggests itself as in accord with other lines of evidence.

Rise of Paternity.—We have already noted the conventional nature of primitive kinship, and also that the order of relationships stood among savages somewhat as follows: mother-child, maternal; brother-sister, fraternal; brother-sister's children, avuncular. But this sequence no longer holds good in the higher culture stages, especially after the transition to the father-family. The paternal begins to take precedence over the maternal relation. When, for example, De Hontan inquired of the American Indians why they always bore their mother's name, they replied that as children received their souls from their father and their bodies from their mother, it was reasonable that the maternal name should be perpetuated.⁶¹ Bachofen would have considered such a statement as the mark of a pretty high culture status, for he wrote in similar vein:

"Ueber das körperliche Dasein erhebt sich das geistige, und der Zusammenhang mit den tiefern Kreisen der Schöpfung wird nun auf jenes beschränkt. Das Mutter-

⁶⁰ Codrington, xviii. *J. A. I.*, 306-8.

⁶¹ De Hontan, *Mem. de l'Amér. Sept.* (1724), ii., 154.

thum gehört der leiblichen Seite der Menschen, und nur für diese wird fortan sein Zusammenhang mit den übrigen Wesen festgehalten; das väterlich-geistige Prinzip eignet ihm allein. In diesem durchbricht er die Banden des Tellurismus, und erhebt seinen Blick zu den höhern Regionen des Kosmos." ⁶²

And did not Swedenborg declare that the soul, which is spiritual and is the real man, comes from the father; while the body, which is natural and, as it were, the vestments of the soul, is of the mother? "Among the Greeks," says Wake, "the father was endowed with creative power, was clothed with the divine character but not the mother, who was only the bearer and nourisher of the child." ⁶³ Æschylus in the *Eumenides* expresses the idea thus:

". . . Mark me! whom we call
The mother begets not; she is but the nurse,
Whose fostering breast the new-sown seed receives.
The father truly gets; the dam but cherishes
A stranger-bud, that, if the gods be kind,
May blossom soon, and bear. Behold a proof!
Without a mother may a child be born,
Not so without a father. Which to witness
Here is this daughter of Olympian Jove. . . ." ⁶⁴

Gothic language had no common term for "parent," the nearest approach being *fadrein*, literally "father-

⁶² *Das Mutterrecht*, p. xxvii.

⁶³ Wake, *l. c.*, 261.

⁶⁴ Blackie's translation. Euripides makes Orestes voice a similar argument (*Orest.*, 543); cf. Ménard, *La Vie privée des Anciens*, ii., 63. But Lippert argues for exclusive mother-kinship in pre-classic Greece (*Gesch. der Familie*, 15-16.)

hood.”⁶⁵ M. Ménard in his *Vie Privée des Anciens* says that the idea of the father as creator of the child, and the mother as merely its nourisher, was common to all antiquity.⁶⁶ This accords with the classical tradition that among the Egyptians no child was reputed illegitimate, even though he was born of a slave mother, as they looked upon the father as the sole author of the being of the child, to whom the mother was but the purveyor of food and lodging. Some Australian natives are said to hold the same opinion. Mr. Howitt relates that a black fellow once remarked to him, “The man gives the child to a woman to take care of for him, and he can do whatever he likes with his own child.”⁶⁷ Among the Tupinambas of Brazil it was common for a man to give his own women as wives to male captives, and then without scruple to eat the children when they grew up, “holding them simply to be of the flesh and blood of their enemies.”⁶⁸ Schrader holds that in general throughout Indo-European antiquity,

“the wife belongs to the man, body and soul, and what she produces is his property, as much as the calf of his cow, or the crop of his fields. The husband therefore regards the child of his wife and another man as his own, provided only it was begotten with his will.”⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Schrader, *l. c.*, 371.

⁶⁶ Tome ii., p. 4, 63.

⁶⁷ Wake, *l. c.*, 262.

⁶⁸ Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, 299, after Southey.

⁶⁹ *L. c.*, 388. It is difficult to say whether in such cases as this the notion of paternity springs from economic interests or *vice versa*; at any rate the conventional nature of such kinship is apparent. Cf. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 119.

According to Sir G. Campbell, even where mother descent prevails, it does not mean the rule of the female, but only that she "is used as the family seed-bed."⁷⁰ With facts such as these before us we are not unprepared for St. Thomas Aquinas's dictum that generative power belonged to the father only; or for the persistence in English law even to the present day of the principle that the father is *the* parent. The point which stands out clearly from this as from preceding paragraphs is that the family as we know it, a social microcosm composed of members in fairly equal and well-defined relationships, did not exist in primitive times; and that with such indefinite or conflicting notions concerning relationship, the family *qua* family, could not have exerted the enormous disciplinary and educational force commonly attributed to it. This point will recur again and again in the course of our study.

The Men's House.—The effect of sex taboos and sex solidarity in weakening the familial organization has already been pointed out. We have seen how the working of such a system of taboos separated the parents from one another. We shall now examine the custom of separating the children of the family from their parents, by means of men's and women's houses and similar institutions. Take, for example, the Indian *estufa*: "Each clan," says Bandelier, "had its own *estufa*, and the young men slept in it under the surveillance of one or more of the aged principals, until they married, and frequently even afterward."⁷¹ Bontoc Igorot "boys from 3 or 4 years of age and all

⁷⁰ *J. A. I.*, xviii., 271.

⁷¹ *The Delight Makers*, 19.

men who have no wives sleep nightly in the pa-ba-fú-nan or in the fá-wi. . . . The pa-ba-fú-nan is the man's club by day, and the unmarried man's dormitory by night." The same writer says elsewhere that

"after the child is about 2 years of age it is not customary for it to sleep longer at the home of the parents; the girl goes nightly to the olag, and the boy to the pabafunan or the fawi. . . . The Igorot child as a rule knows its parents' home only as a place to eat. There is almost an entire absence of anything which may be called home life."⁷²

Among the Jalu of the Uganda Protectorate, "young unmarried girls usually sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves."⁷³ The same system prevails among the Wakikuyu.⁷⁴ Among the Nagas of Eastern Assam the bachelors' house is called *morang*; it is also the assembly room for councils and dances. "These bachelor buildings are always the veritable home of the youths from early boyhood, until they marry and establish a household of their own."⁷⁵ Another writer notes of the same people: "only very young children live entirely with their parents."⁷⁶ Among the Dravidian tribes of India both men and women have separate secret society houses where they sleep; one of these tribal fraternities is called the Dhumkuria: "They have a regular system of fagging in this

⁷² Jenks, *Bontoc Igorot*, 50-1, 62.

⁷³ Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 780, 626.

⁷⁴ Purvis, *Uganda to Mt. Elgon*, 70. Evidently not an unmixed blessing, for this author notes that though they are supposedly under supervision, yet "there is a good deal of free intercourse between the young people."

⁷⁵ W. H. Furness, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 450-4.

⁷⁶ S. H. Damant, in *Calcutta Review*, lxi., 93, cited by Jenks.

curious institution," says Dalton. "The small boys serve those of larger growth, shampoo their limbs, and comb their hair, etc., and they are sometimes subjected to severe discipline to *make men* of them."⁷⁷ Children of the Bororo tribe of Brazil go to the *Bahito*, or men's house, as soon as they are weaned.⁷⁸ Of the Papuans Hagen writes:

"So soon as the boy has received his *mel* (girdle) at four years of age he enters public life; he leaves his mother and passes to the Men's House of the family, where he sleeps until the time of his marriage."⁷⁹

In discussing the various educational agencies among primitive peoples we shall return to the rôle of these men's houses; suffice it here to indicate the influence they must have in preventing a close familial relation. Most of the functions which we are in the habit of associating with the family (*e.g.*, protection, sociability, training in "minor morals") devolve upon these extra-familial institutions. They sometimes hinder the development of a distinctively domestic type of industry (*Hauswirtschaft*). They are also often connected closely with puberty rites, initiation ceremonies, and other educational devices.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnol. of Bengal*, 248 (Calcutta, 1872).

⁷⁸ Frič and Radin, xxvi. *J. A. I.*, 388.

⁷⁹ B. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, 234.

⁸⁰ Further references on this subject: Bücher, *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, 43-4; *J. A. I.*, ii., 393; xi., 248; xxxiv., 256; Codrington, *Melanesians*, 231-6; O. Finsch, *Ethnologische Erfahrungen*, iii., 306-7; Sir Hugh Low, *Sarawak, Its Inhabitants*, etc. (Lond., 1848), 280; Curr, *The Australian Race*, i., 71-2; Joske, in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, ii., 254-71; Fison, xiv. *J. A. I.*, 29 ff.; Semon, *In the Austral. Bush*, 324; Furness, *Island of Stone Money*, 21, 36 ff.; Hodson, *Folk-Lore*, xxi., 296-312; Northcote, xxxvii. *J. A. I.*, 61; Ankermann, *Ztschft. f. Ethnol.*, xlii., 289-310; see also *post*, ch. vii.

Ceremonial Acquiring of Group Kinship.—The insufficiency of the family tie and the subordination of close consanguinity to the somewhat mystical concept of group kinship is well illustrated by certain puberty rites and ceremonies. For instance, in West Africa, the youth who is to be initiated into the secret society which comprises the larger life of the community is isolated, and subjected to rigorous discipline, the whole purport of which is the death of the youth to his old familial life and his resurrection to the larger group life. He becomes a new man; his name even is changed; he learns sometimes a new language; he forgets, or pretends to forget, all his past life. At first he affects to recognize no one, and to be unable even to masticate his food, which office friends must perform for him. "When he comes to life again, he begins to eat and drink as before, but his understanding is gone and the fetish man must teach him and direct him in every motion, like the smallest child." This pretended ignorance also extends to customs of the country, such as washing or rubbing with oil. The Dutch ethnologist Riedel adds several picturesque details in his observation of this custom:

"When they return to their homes they totter in their walk, and enter the house backward, as if they had forgotten how to walk properly; or they enter the house by the back door. If a plate of food is given to them, they hold it upside down. They remain dumb, indicating their wants by signs only. . . . Their sponsors have to teach them all the common acts of life, as if they were new-born children."

This renunciation of the blood tie is sometimes attended by either real or dissembled and symbolic weeping on

the part of mothers and sisters. Such rites are pretty generally distributed over the primitive world. Frazer gives them almost wholly a religious character and makes them the act of indentification of the individual with his totem, or "an exchange of life or souls between the man and his totem." He finds the rite prevalent in New South Wales, Queensland, Fiji, Congo valley, Quoja on the west coast of Africa, in several islands west of New Guinea, in the west of Ceram; also traces of it subsisting in Brahmanism, as revealed by a text in the laws of Manu.⁸¹ The significant thing about it for our purposes is the identification of the individual with the larger social group, and his subordination and allegiance to it rather than to the narrower family group.

⁸¹ See Lippert, ii., 341-2; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii., 342-57; id., *Totemism and Exogamy*, i., 43-4; W. H. Bentley, *Life on the Congo* (Lond., 1887), 78 ff.; Lawson, *H. of N. C.*, 381; Chevrier, *L'Anthropologie*, xvii., 372-3; Kulischer, *Ztschft. f. Ethnol.*, xv., 194 ff.

CHAPTER V

PRIMITIVE PARENTAL AND FILIAL RELATIONS

Effect of Feeble Memory.—In the discussion of primitive mental outfit in Chapter I, the feeble memory powers of primitive peoples in general were remarked. Such a mental trait must have had considerable influence in the evolution of parenthood. Intellectual or formal memory is a social product. Like all other aspects of mind, the power of recall is a development through necessity. If the mind as a whole is “an organ of service for the control of environment in relation to the ends of the life process,”¹ so must we consider each phase of its activity. For mind is a unit, and memory is not a “faculty” separable from the entire mind-content or mind-activity. If the child or the savage seems to us devoid of this particular form of mental expression, the reason lies partly *within* the mind, but equally *without*, in the absence of circumstances and conditions to evoke such activity. Memory and the lack of it are indices of certain social arrangements, and contrariwise. Hence when we are told that the memory of the Veddah, for example, is so fleeting that one of them has been known to forget the name of his

¹ John Dewey, *Psychol. Rev.*, ix., 219.

wife from whom he had been separated for three days, or at least could only recall it after long reflection; or that another could not remember the names of his dead father and mother;² or that the islanders visited by Captain Cook lost in two or three generations all record of such a remarkable occurrence; or that in general the memory of the dead fades out of savage minds after a very few years; we may reasonably conclude that there was no demand for this type of memory among these peoples; and furthermore, that institutions dependent to no small degree upon recollective power could not subsist in its absence. Still further, since memory is an important element in the parental and familial relation, there seems to be some close connection between the absence of memory, the loose family bond, and the lack of purposive home-directed education among low-grade peoples. The savage's memory is in full working order when questions of personal life maintenance appear.³ But with questions of more or less abstract duty it functions sluggishly and with painful effort. Now the care of children and the aged comprises largely just such questions of duty, and just in so far as they are problems of duty are they imperfectly solved or not solved at all. If they can be

² See Letourneau, *L'évol. de l'éducation*, 36; there seems to be here no question of a name-taboo.

³ Steinmetz says (*Ethnol. Studien*, etc., I, 313-4): "Ich glaube, dass allerdings das Gedachtniss des Wilden sehr kurz ist, doch dass dies nicht auf allen Gebieten in gleichem Maasse der Fall ist. . . . Es geht hieraus eben hervor, dass das Gedachtniss des Naturmenschen gar nicht kurz ist für all dasjenige, worauf er im Kampfe um das Dasein angewiesen ist oder womit er täglich verkehrt, indem er aus irgend einem Grunde sein Interesse erregt." Cf. Letourneau, *l. c.*, 68-9; Perez, *L'Art et la Poésie chez l'enfant*, 203.

expressed in terms of emotion or pleasurable feelings, or when the general level of social intelligence evokes and keeps alive this peculiar type of duty-memory, problems of parental or filial conduct stand a better chance of solution. Hence we are driven to conclude that *the parental mind left to itself would express itself in a zigzag policy of emotional conduct toward the child unless the group furnished a solid background of experience and memory with which to check and govern and eke out the individual parent's duty-memory.*

Parental Affection.—We have already examined the marital tie between parents and found it, to say the least, unstable, and therefore not conducive to intimate or efficient family life. The relation between parents and children has likewise for various reasons to be adjudged weak and far from the ideal we now conceive for such a relation. But so far we have approached the parental question, obliquely, so to speak, or from without. It remains to look a little more closely into details of the family life of our ethnic forbears and contemporaries. First, then, the question of *parental sentiment*. Who has not thrilled over that poetic burst in the New Testament,

“O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not?”

Many writers appear to find excellent confirmations of this yearning and affection among the higher animals, notably the birds, but also the monkeys, and even some

reptiles and fishes.⁴ That there exist some such stirrings of emotion I cannot doubt, for quite apart from the writings of "nature fakers" there are many examples of apparent love and heroism among so-called dumb brutes; but to interpret them with Sutherland as "graces of an indubitably moral character" is somewhat straining the truth. I am disposed to refer them to contact-pleasure in its several forms; but that need in no way detract from their beauty, or from our admiration of them.

Upon the same basis should be placed much of the "affection" manifested by savage parents. It is not an "innate instinct," but rather a product of social development, through selection.⁵ There is no doubt that the majority of savages display more or less marked affection toward and care for their offspring, and union for their defense. Hundreds of ethnographic observations might be cited to prove this assertion. But in nearly every case it might also be shown that the manifestation was rather biologic or crudely emotional than rational in character. Crantz found amongst the Greenlanders "traces of a stronger love between Parents

⁴ Sutherland, *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, i., chap. ii.-v., particularly pp. 69, 93, 172; Parsons, *The Family*, 21-23. For a flagrant case of the opposite, see Richard Semon, *In the Australian Bush*, 165.

⁵ In Tahiti, "on préfère souvent les enfants adoptés (tamarii faaama) à ses propres enfants" (Huguénin, *Raiatea La Sacrée*, 173); same occurs sometimes in Fiji; see also Ploss, *D. K.*, ii., 393; Wake, *l. c.*, 2, calls it a "secondary" instinct and insists it is *parental*, not merely maternal. Starcke considers 'paternal love' as *sociologic*, not *instinctive* (*La famille dans les différentes sociétés*, p. 202). Sumner (*Folkways*, 494) says: "There is no 'natural affection.' There is habit and familiarity."

and Children, and of the many passions rising from it, than there are in other nations." Yet he goes on to say that this parental relation savors rather of animal instinct than human reason.⁶ Still stronger is the biologic note in Williams' account of the Fijians:

"I have been astonished to see the broad breast of a most ferocious savage heave and swell with strong emotion on bidding his aged father a temporary farewell. I have listened with interest to a man of milder mold, as he told me about his eldest son—his head, his face, his mien—the admiration of all who saw him. Yet this father assisted to strangle his son; and the son first named buried his father alive! Generally speaking, and with but few exceptions, suspicion, reserve, and distrust pervade the domestic

⁶ *Hist. of Greenland*, i., 189. Here might be cited other purely animal traits in primitive parenthood, notably the nuzzling or "nosing" of the Africans, the licking of babies instead of washing them, e.g., among the Tibetans and Innuits (*Smithson. Rep.*, 1893, 724; Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, 381). Ploss, ii., 339, goes more into detail: "Ob man bei den *Eskimo (Inuit)* von einer 'Erziehung' der Kinder sprechen darf, ist sehr zweifelhaft; denn wenn gleich unter ihnen die Kinder von ihren Müttern im allgemeinen zärtlich, ja sogar mit übergrosser Zärtlichkeit behandelt werden, so wird doch immerhin die geistige Pflege des Sprösslings wohl ebenso thierisch sein wie die leibliche. Letztere charakterisiert sich dadurch, dass das neugeborene Kind von der Mutter geleckt wird, und dass auch in späterem Alter die Kleinen, die bis zum 7 Jahre sowohl in der Kapuze getragen, als auch ebenso lange gesäugt werden, von der Mutter nur durch Ablecken, nie durch Abwaschen vom Schmutze gereinigt werden; auch das Putzen der Nase wird von der Mutter lediglich mit dem Munde besorgt"! See also Dr. Robinson, in *N. Amer. Rev.*, cli., 467-78. Schomburgk saw in Guiana Arekuna mothers nursing monkeys and the babies at the same time; and observed that the training of both was identical; that the monkeys formed part of the family and ate with it regularly. (Cited by Wuttke from *Ausland*, 1843, no. 288.)

relationship, and a happy and united household is most rare."⁷

Speaking by and large, we may accept Sutherland's generalization that

"their affection for their children is an instinct of race preservation analogous to that of the lower animals, and gratifying itself without restraint. The savage knows little of that higher affection subsequently developed which has a worthier purpose than merely to disport itself in the mirth of childhood, and at all hazards to avoid the annoyance of seeing its tears."⁸

In brief, savage parenthood contains a large element of self-indulgence; when other considerations, such as temper, food-shortage, nomadry, step in, the child is sacrificed; under ordinary circumstances he is almost universally and abominably spoiled. Thanks to other forces, however, he is made to walk more or less in the straight and narrow way in spite of the parental indulgence he has suffered.

We accept, with the proviso mentioned, the statements of many competent observers when they speak of savage parents as "deeply attached," "kind and gentle," "entirely devoted"; or as treating their children "with great affection," "kindest attention," "tenderest affection," etc.⁹ Mr. Lummis, for example, says of the

⁷ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 106; cf. Hyades on the Fuegians (*Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop.*, x., 331): "Les parents aiment beaucoup leurs enfants" but "Rien ne s'opposerait à la vente des enfants s'il y avait des acquéreurs."

⁸ Sutherland, *l. c.*, i., 119.

⁹ It is manifestly impossible to include in the text the great mass of ethnographic notes on this subject. The following bibliography aims

Pueblos: "An unhappy home is almost an unknown thing among them; and the universal affection of parents for children and respect of children for parents are extraordinary."¹⁰ And Mme. Pommerol goes so far as to say of the tribes of the Sahara, that nowhere in all Europe could be found such kindly treatment of

to include certain typical cases: Mrs. Allison, "Similkameen Indians of British Columbia," xxi. *J. A. I.*, 316; Bonney, "Aborigines of River Darling, N. S. W.," xiii. *J. A. I.*, 125; Brunache, *Centre de l'Afrique*, 135; Bishop, *Among the Tibetans*, 95; Boas, "Central Eskimo," *Bur. Ethn.*, vi., 580; Codrington, *Melanesians*, 244; Crantz, *l. c.*, i., 186; Crawford, *Hist. of Indian Archipel.*, 82; Delafosse, "Le Peuple Léna ou Sénoufs," in *Rev. des Études Ethnogr. et Sociol.*, No. 11-12, p. 484; Eastman, *Indian Boyhood*, 17; Finsch, *Ethnol. Erfahrungen*, iii., 31; Featherman, *Social Hist. of Mankind*, 1st div., 154, 198, 288, 304, 566, 599, 622; Sir C. B. Flower, in xviii. *J. A. I.*, 81; Forbes, "Ethnol. of Timor-laut," xiii. *J. A. I.*, 20; Gardiner, "Natives of Rotuma," xxvii. *J. A. I.*, 408; Grabowsky, "Gebräuche der Dajaken Sudost Borneos bei der Geburt," *Globus*, 72 (1897), 271; Haddon, "Ethnogr. of West. Tr. of Torres Str.," xix. *J. A. I.*, 316; Huguenin, *Raiatea La Sacrée*, 174; im Thurn, *Am. the Ind. of Guiana*, 213, 219; Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 539; Miss Kingsley, *West. Afr. Stud.*, 168; Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, 214; Koch, *Die Guaikurú-stämme*, 106; Loskiel, *l. c.*, 58, 61; Lumholtz "On the Turahumari," in *Scribner's*, Sept., 1894, 298; Mason, *Woman's Place in Prim. Cult.*, 253; Mooney, in article "Child Life," in *Bur. Ethn. Bulletin* 30; McGee, "Seri Indians," *Bur. Ethn.*, xvii., 11; Murdoch, "Ethnol. Results of Pt. Barrow Exped.," *Bur. Ethn.*, ix., 41; Phillips, "The Lower Congo," xvii. *J. A. I.*, 219; Nansen, *Eskimo*, 103; Ploss, *l. c.*, ii., 335-7; Ratzel, *l. c.*, i., 365; ii., 106; Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, 189; Ling Roth, *Aborig. of Tasmania*, 46; id., *Natives of Sarawak*, etc., i., 102-3; Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Pen.*, i., 528; Smyth, *Aborig. of Victoria*, i., 51; Spencer and Gillen, *N. T. of C. A.*, 51; Steinen, *Shingu Tribes* (Berlin Musuem, 1888), 503; Mrs. Stevenson, "On the Zuñis," *Bur. Ethn.*, xxiii., 293; Turner, "Ethnol. of the Ungava Distr.," *Bur. Ethn.*, xi., 191; N. W. Thomas, *Kinship and Marr. in Australia*, 13; Capt. Cook, *Voyage to Pacific Ocean*, ii., 230; iii., 129-30; Dr. Barbara Renz, "Elternliebe bei Amerikanischen Stämmen," XVI *Internat. Amerikanisten Kongress*, vol. xvi., pp. 439-45.

¹⁰ *The Man Who Married the Moon*, 3.

children.¹¹ In some cases children are noted as being the real tie between their parents.

The mortuary customs of many peoples reveal a tender regard for their dead children (partly, no doubt, from parental affection, but also for the sake of securing the friendly offices of their spirits); though perhaps an equal number of cases might be cited where the dead child is quickly disposed of and forgotten, for in general its ghost is little to be feared; and it is to be remembered that primitive mourning is rather ritualistic than emotional.¹²

Mythology and folklore also have preserved numerous incidents of parental care and devotion, notably in the legends of Buddha and Siva, and in several of Mr. Lummis' folk tales of the Southwest.¹³ The fact of the matter is that, as a rule, savage children lack not affection, but *rational* affection; that they are loved "not wisely but too well"; that Mr. Niblock's note on the Indians of South Alaska and North British Columbia to the effect that they "are remarkably fond of and indulgent to their children," is fairly typical of the savage

¹¹ *Une Femme chez les Sahariennes*, 224.

¹² See, Th. Fries, *Grönland*, 121; Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 194; Johnston, *Lion and Dragon*, 251; Jenks, *Bontoc Igorot*, 80; Man, "On the Andaman Islanders," xii. *J. A. I.*, 141; Matthews in *Am. Anthropol.*, ii., n. s., 500; Morgan, *Anc. Soc.*, 181; Palmer, xiii. *J. A. I.*, 298; R. L. Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, 185; Ratzel, ii., 335; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, ii., 3, 115, 117, 150-1; Wake, i. *J. A. I.*, 71; it is worth while also to call attention to the orthodox Hindu scale of rank in burial: the baby being of least account is buried in the earth; the adolescent, in water; the adult, burned.

¹³ Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i., 414; ii., 401; Lummis, *l. c.*, especially "The Antelope Boy" and "The Accursed Lake"; Rasmussen, *People of the Polar North*, 192, 293.

parental attitude.¹⁴ Compare this note with Father Baegert's experience with the Lower Californians.

"The children," says he,¹⁵ "do what they please, without fearing reprimand or punishment, however disorderly and wicked their conduct may be. It would be well if the parents did not grow so angry when their children are now and then slightly chastised for gross misdemeanor by order of the missionary; but, instead of bearing with patience such wholesome correction of their little sons and daughters, they take great offense and become enraged, especially the mothers, who will scream like furies, tear out their hair, beat their naked breasts with a stone, and lacerate their heads with a piece of wood or bone till the blood flows, as I have frequently witnessed on such occasion."¹⁶

More piquant and equally illuminating is a bit of confession from Robert Louis Stevenson: "I have seen a Paumotuan native turn from me in embarrassment and disaffection because I suggested that a brat would be the better for a beating".¹⁷ Let us defer for the present any consideration of what effect upon the children such animal-like affection and indulgence must have. The question of "spoiling" children will come up for detailed treatment in the discussion of the educational function of the family (chap. vi.).

Children as Property.—"Desire for offspring," says

¹⁴ *Smithsonian Report*, 1888, 240.

¹⁵ *L. c.*, 369.

¹⁶ This statement does not tally exactly with Baegert's observation upon the indifference of these people toward their children; the incongruity serves the better to illustrate the instability of the savage temper and the dose of the animal in parental "affection."

¹⁷ *In the South Seas* (Scribner ed., N. Y., 1896), 38.

Westermarck, "is universal in mankind." Call it instinct for reproduction, or cosmic process, or what you will, it marks man no less than the animals. And in spite of such apparent negations as onanism, abortion, infanticide, the general rule subsists. Almost without exception among primitive men fertility is looked upon as a blessing, sometimes as a gift of the gods, and sterility as a curse or mark of divine disfavor. Perhaps the reasons are not far to seek. Ancestor worship requires, for the peace and happiness of both the living and their dead, that the thread of generation be unbroken.¹⁸ But a simpler and far more fundamental reason seems to lie in the offspring's value as a food-getter. To the savage, living most of his lifetime close to the lower subsistence margin, and in spite of his usual carelessness about the morrow, old age must sometimes have loomed full of doubt and terror; his children would serve to splice out his own frayed strength in the fight against inhospitable nature. Crantz, for instance, records of the Greenlanders that it was "a great reproach to have no children, especially no son who might be the stay of their old age."¹⁹

But many times before old age came on, primitive

¹⁸ An overflowing bibliography exists on this point; suffice it to mention Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antiqué*, 2d ed., chap. ii.; Starcke, *La famille dans les différentes sociétés*, 197; Nelson, in *Bur. Ethn.*, xviii., 364; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, ii., 98; Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, 184; Jolly, *Les Secondes Mariages*, 11; Steinmetz, *Ethnol. Studien*, i., 287-96; the Chinese philosopher Mencius said: "There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them."

¹⁹ *L. c.*, i., 159; cf. the Chinese proverbs: "Trees are raised for shade, children are reared for old age"; "If you have no children to foul the bed, you will have no one to burn paper at the grave."

men found use for children. They cost but little to maintain while young, and early attain self-support; may easily be abandoned, eaten, or sold in times of need, famine, war, migration, etc. Very early they can be put to service about the house, in the fields, with the flocks. The boy soon learns to fish, paddle, hunt; and the girl to tend the fire, carry wood, water, etc. She, too, will command a price when marriageable. In some cases, indeed, children formed the chief wealth of the family. The labor problem was no less acute in the dawn of civilization than in our own times. Even nowadays children are regarded by many parents in America and elsewhere as financial assets and treated as such. It appears that English child-labor laws, which hinder the child from being any longer the "parental savings-bank," are partly responsible for the declining birth-rate. One need not go far from home to hear some parent exclaim to a teacher or factory inspector: "My child is my own; I can do as I please with him; I need his help; he can work for me if I want him to," etc., etc. But the primitive parent had no child-labor laws to contend with, and no coherent ideas of the state, or of state interference; whoever the owner of the child, whether father, mother, or the group,²⁰ the child was *property*, valuable property, and usable property.²¹ Whether he was a *person* first, and only through pressure of untoward circumstances came to

²⁰ See Lippert, ii., 3; Mucke, *Horde und Familie*, 159; Gomme, xvii. *J. A. I.*, 120.

²¹ Perhaps not always the most valued possession, for Pratt (*Two Years among New Guinea Cannibals*, 330) writes, "the child is not at all hardly used—although, be it remembered, the family pig has a deeper place in the adult's affection"!

be regarded as a *thing*, perhaps we cannot say, since the savage's sense of personality is so obscure. But there is no doubt that he was a *thing*, an asset, a resource, a marketable good. Paulitschke says of the Northeast Africans:

"The children of a married pair are, according to the ideas of the Northeast Africans, considered as scarcely higher than things. They are the property of the father, for whom they must work, from whom they must buy themselves off, who can sell them, and from whom they must be purchased. The father has no obligations towards them, not even for the maintenance of their lives if they are at all able to support themselves (*das physische Leben selbst zu fristen*). Thus their labor power belongs to the father until the moment they leave the family and become themselves heads of families."²²

In some Kafir tribes "the people pray for many boys and but few girls, for if their prayers are answered they will be able to sell their daughters for sufficient cattle to make them rich, while their sons will settle down near the father's hut, and so make him a head man of great importance. In other tribes the people pray for a few boys and many girls, preferring the greatness that comes from

²² *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i., 189; cf. Wuttke, *Geschichte des Heidenthums*, i., 185: "Das Kind ist eben auch nur ein lebendiges Einzelwesen, hat nicht ein *Recht* für sich, sondern ist rein ein Besitzthum der Eltern, mit welchem sie machen können was sie wollen gegen welches sie keine pflicht haben," etc.—a generalization which has stood half a century; cf. also Post, *Familienrechts*, etc., 332. In Rome, when the *patria potestas* began to weaken, and protective legislation for children was developed, it is notable that the protection was designed not primarily for the child himself, but for his inheritable possessions. Only with the entrance of Greek philosophy came the idea of protecting his person as such. See Gastambide, *L'enfant devant la famille et l'état*, p. x., etc.

riches to that which comes from possessing a large kraal. Thus the people do not introduce any sentimental motives into the problem, merely regarding the children as a potential asset."²³

David Livingstone observed that the Bechuanas were much attached to their children, and suggests as the reason that "every little stranger forms an increase of property to the whole community."²⁴ From another corner of Africa comes the report that "great store is set upon children, and the more children a woman has the more valuable she is."²⁵ The Yakuts are perfectly frank and business-like in this matter. They say:

"It is more advantageous for us Yakuts, in this frozen country of ours, to have many children than to have much money and cattle. Children are our capital, if they are good. It is hard to get good labourers, even for large wages, but a son, when he grows up, is a labourer who costs nothing."²⁶

The Bontoc Igorots are no less canny; they love all their children and say when a boy is born, "It is good"; and if it be a girl it is equally "good." It is the fact of a child in the family that makes them happy, says Jenks. For, and here is the secret, "One is as capable as the other at earning a living, and both are needed in the group."²⁷ The Igorots, be it remembered, are agriculturists, rather on the intensive plan; "hands" therefore are always in demand.

The mysterious occult sensibilities of children, and their apparent prophetic capacity, were not neglected in savage economics.

²³ Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, 9; cf. Tylor, *Anthropology*, 365.

²⁴ *Travels in South Africa*, i., 140.

²⁵ Granville and Roth, "Notes on the Jekris, Sobos and Ijos," etc., xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 106.

²⁶ Sieroshevsky-Sumner, *l. c.*, 77.

²⁷ Jenks, *l. c.*, 59-60; Vassal, *On and Off Duty in Annam*, 225.

"The California Indians would give children narcotic potions, in order to gain from the ensuing visions information about their enemies. . . . The Darien Indians used the seeds of the *Datura sanguinea* to bring on in children prophetic delirium in which they revealed hidden treasure."²⁸

Mr. Hill Tout found among the Siciatl of British Columbia a custom of secluding certain male children to develop in them occult powers for the game quest.²⁹ They were kept as veritable Nazarites, shut up by day in little "box-like receptacles" like blooded hounds. Finally, as will appear in a later paragraph, the savage was by no means averse to selling his child into slavery or otherwise. On the whole, then, we may conclude that the parental affection of savages is not pure cosmic emotion, but a mixture well dosed with worldly economy. It is doubtful if, in primitive society, children are ever valued and regarded *for themselves*.

Prehistoric Family Life.—So far the picture of primitive family life, at least what there was of it, has been presented in its most favorable light. We are now to examine certain shadows in the picture before coming to any final judgment upon it. Dr. Louis Robinson attempted an ingenious reconstruction of the very primitive family by a process of deduction from certain physiological and mental traits of the present-day

²⁸ Tylor, *P. C.*, ii., 416-7.

²⁹ *J. A. I.*, xxxiv., 25-6. Further references on children as property: Mucke, *l. c.*, 292; Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 141; Ploss, *l. c.*, ii., 342-3; Loskiel, 61; Starcke, *Prim. Fam.*, 261; St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i., 165; Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Bur. Ethn.*, xvii., pt. ii., 485; Lewis and Clarke, *Travels*, ii., 164; Bogoras, in *Am. Anthropol.*, iii., n. s., 106; Leprince, *L'Anthropologie*, xvi., 61.

infant.³⁰ One need not accept in detail his arguments; but all due allowances made, there still remains a very unflattering sketch of the domestic life of our paleolithic forbears: want, misery, abandonment, neglect, jealousy, are its most salient traits.

"Who would have thought," says he, "that the fat which cushions a baby's body told one of the most tragic tales of human suffering which it is possible to imagine? Yet this is the opinion to which we are driven by a brief examination of the facts, in the light of evolutionary law."

The facts seem to be these: the young of monkeys and arboreal man were slight and slim, otherwise their parents could not have carried them while leaping and climbing among the trees. Unless there had been some preponderant advantage to the human infant in being fat he must have remained slim when our ancestors became terrestrial and wandered about, for the wanderer scales down his burden to the lightest. What determined fatness against leanness? Apparently the irregularity of food supply.

"Although primitive man did not hybernate, and was probably versatile enough to find food in all seasons of the year, he was like all modern savages who live by the chase, liable to frequently recurring famines.³¹ If game was plentiful the tribe revelled in abundance; but when the hunters were unsuccessful, roots and skin clothing were the chief articles in the *menu*. Now it is obvious that infantile gums would make but poor play with such tough diet; and at the same time the baby at the breast would find its usual nutriment almost entirely cut off. In order

³⁰ *North Amer. Rev.*, clix., 467-78.

³¹ For a somewhat contradictory view, see Richard Semon, *In the Austral. Bush*, 217-8.

to tide over these periods of scarcity it was therefore necessary that the primitive child should imitate the provident habits of the bear and the dormouse. By waxing fat in times of plenty, he was able to fall back on his own resources during 'the winter of his discontent,' when his parents were unable, or unwilling, to provide him with food."

Under such circumstances (and they have lasted from the tertiary period to present-day savagery), mortality of the young and weak from starvation is enormous. The survival of fat infants and the change in the infant type have been

"brought about by the constant elimination, by means of death from want, of thousands upon thousands of infants of the primitive simian type. In fact only those children who varied in the direction which the conditions of a precarious savage life rendered necessary—survived and left offspring."

One might raise the question whether the child but shared the common misery, and whether after all he did not receive his due attention in the matter of food and care. Dr. Robinson thinks the "universal tendency exhibited by infants to pick up small objects of all kinds and put them in their mouths" is a survival of cave-dweller times, when the infant, left largely to his own devices, crawled about among the refuse of the cave floor or crept after his mother through the grass experimenting "gastronomically with grubs, caterpillars, and other small deer." The persistent jealousy displayed by so many little children also may be traceable to primeval hard times when each had to seize the biggest possible share in the spoils. "If the morsel chanced to be the last obtainable when a prolonged fast was impending, a selfish and jealous child might, by securing a double portion, hold out while others perished." But the wiles of propitiation were resorted to where mere

brute strength and selfishness seemed unlikely to win out.

"Most babies, before they can talk, will ostentatiously offer their nurses or parents a share of their food at the very time when they show the greatest repugnance to giving any to other children. Obviously the primitive child learned by sad experience that, in dealing with adults, a policy of conciliation and reciprocity paid better in the long run than one of brutal acquisitiveness."³²

Again, the infant's remarkable capacity for crying may be interpreted largely as a device for prodding, stimulating, coercing, neglectful and indifferent parenthood. The primitive child had no other means of securing parental attention to his necessities; the "infant crying in the night" offered one of those irritants to primitive memory, the need of which we spoke of in a preceding section. The modern infant's crying to no apparent purpose is perhaps a survival from times when the purpose was very well defined. "That any baby can squall for many hours at a stretch sufficiently loudly to make itself heard over a considerable area is a fact which is extremely difficult to explain in a manner favorable to the domestic reputation of early man."³³

³² It is possible to make too much of primitive *egoism*, as pointed out on page 15. There is considerable evidence among higher savages of parental self-denial for benefit of offspring in times of food-shortage: e.g., Eastman, *Ind. Boyk.*, 17; Skeat and Blagden, *l. c.*, i., 528, note; Nansen, *l. c.*, 103; Spencer and Gillen, *l. c.*, 51.

³³ There may be a certain play element in infantile crying, though not a very considerable one. "L'enfant qui crie a souvent plaisir à crier" (Compayré, *L'évolution intellectuelle et morale de l'enfant*, 31); "the howl begun in earnest is often prolonged from playful experimentation" (Groos, *Play of Man*, 31). I fail to see in this manifestation any more of play than is to be found in teasing. It is much more profitable to emphasize the "language" element. It is curious in this connection to note that Jean Paul in his *Levana* omits any reference to

Family Ties Temporary.—It is of course quite unfair to apply the measuring rod of the Cave-Dweller to the modern savage or barbarian as to his family life, or in any other regard. Ethnography must supply the materials for a juster and more accurate view of savage family life. First, then, as to its duration. The human suckling period varies enormously from tribe to tribe, ranging from six months with the Maynas of Ecuador to five years among some Indian tribes of Brazil, and even to fifteen years on occasions among the Eskimos.³⁴ Social considerations, however, rather than maternal love, dictate the period.³⁵

In general the manifestation of parental affection is limited to the earliest years of childhood, for there is practically no youth in savagery, and babyhood touches maturity, with no gradual transitions.

"One of the first things that strikes a stranger in Africa is the wonderful rapidity with which children develop. Real childhood is unknown, although manhood is also

play in his enumeration of the kinds of crying, viz., from injury, from sickness, to get something, from fear, loss, and vexation. It is possible, as has been suggested, that the primitive child's cries were valuable to his *entourage* as well as to himself, in anticipation of the watch dog!

³⁴ Ploss, *l. c.*, ii., 167-75; Von Troil, in Pinkerton, i., 660; Proyard, in Pinkerton, xvi., 571; Pfoundes, "On Japan," xii. *J. A. I.*, 223; *Smithson. Rep.*, 1893, large vol., 724; *Austral. Assoc. for Adv. of Sci.*, 1892, 697; Crawley, *l. c.*, chap. xvi.

³⁵ The number of children in the family must always bear some relation to the quantity and quality of their nurture. Sutherland (*l. c.*, i., 3-5, etc.) goes into this matter quite fully. To correct the current impression that savage families are large, see, e.g., Sutherland, i., chap. ii., vi.; Jenks, *l. c.*, 59; Loskiel, 61; Macdonald in xix. *J. A. I.*, 267; Dawson, *Austral. Aborig. of West Victoria*, 39; Pratt, *l. c.*, 302; Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 721, 748; Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, 101-2.

never reached. The little ones are thrown on their own resources at such an early period that they quickly learn to act for themselves in providing for the passing hour, and little more than this is attained in after life."³⁶

The period at which such maturity is attained and the parental bond loosed is determined by the culture status, which in turn depends upon food conditions, etc. Where the forms of food and shelter are supplied for the most part directly by wild nature, such as roots, seeds, berries, fruits, shellfish, small reptilia, and caves, trees, rude huts of bark or boughs, children from seven to ten years, and even as soon as they are weaned, begin to look out for themselves.³⁷ If they do not separate themselves voluntarily, and cannot be employed or sold by their elders, they may literally be "kicked out of the nest." Whatever family feeling there may have been soon evaporates. Ploss says of the Australians: "Um die Kinder bekümmert sich zwar die Mutter in den ersten Jahren noch etwas, später hört aber jeder familienartige Zusammenhang auf."³⁸ Visitors have mentioned love to children as the only more noble feeling of which the Fuegians are capable, "but it disappears as the children grow, and the

³⁶ A. D. Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries*, 120.

³⁷ Parsons, *The Family*, 28; Lippert, i., 61; Lazarus, in *Ztschft. f. Völkerpsych.*, i., 459; Steinmetz, in *Ztschft. f. Socialwiss.*, i., 621, 624, 628; St. John, *The Ainos*, ii. J. A. I., 249; Pratt, l. c., 302; Reclus, l. c., 131; Lichtenstein, *Travels in South Africa*, ii., 230; Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, 295; Ploss, ii., 342, 392; Dowd, *Negro Races*, 140-3; Swift, *Mind in the Making*, 62; Sutherland, l. c., i., 150; Letourneau, *L'évol. de l'éduc.*, 65; Chamberlain, *The Child and Childhood in Folk Thought*, 195; Bücher, *Industr. Evol.*, 15; Thurnwald, in *Ztschft. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xxii., 309-64.

³⁸ L. c., ii., 334.

family feeling is very weak."³⁹ The Puris of Brazil are perhaps even weaker in this respect.⁴⁰ Among the Indians of Guiana, also, family affection soon cools.⁴¹ Forbes observed of the Pasumahis in Sumatra: "Their children are lively and amused with little; but neither of their parents trouble themselves much about them after they are old enough to run about by themselves."⁴² The Pelew Island boy "is early left to himself and to community life with his companions."⁴³

"It is the universal custom for the boys of poor people [Bahima] when they reach the age of eight or nine, to leave their parents and attach themselves to the following of some chief or rich man."⁴⁴

We may safely say, then, that *among savages and barbarians*, except where the social organization coincides with the familial, as in the case of the patriarchate, the relation of parent to child, however marked by affection during the first years of childhood, is usually only temporary in its nature. This must have profoundly affected the educational functions of the family, as we shall see shortly.

Parental Indifference and Cruelty.—A disheartening amount of evidence exists to show that not only was primitive parental affection transitory, but also that it frequently was wholly absent. Indifference and neglect marked only too often the parental attitude. As a general rule, where a conflict occurred between the

³⁹ Ratzel, ii., 677. ⁴⁰ Lippert, ii., 306. ⁴¹ Im Thurn, *l. c.*, 219.

⁴² *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, 195.

⁴³ Kubary, *Die Socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauen*, 50 (cited by Steinmetz).

⁴⁴ Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 626.

sexual and the parental impulse, the latter succumbed. According to Lumholtz, the natives of Queensland scarcely recognize paternal duties.⁴⁵ Captain Burrows finds that the Pigmies "have apparently no ties of family affection, such as those of mother to son, or sister to brother, and seem to be wanting in all social qualities, asking nothing more than to be let alone, to 'live and let live.'" ⁴⁶ "There is no family affection—which is absolutely non-existent with the Abysinnians [*sic!*]." ⁴⁷

"The parental affection of the Khuai (African Bushmen) for their children is imperfectly developed, for they generally abandon them, and leave them to grow up unwatched and uncared for. Children cease to be objects of their mother's care after they are able to crawl about in the open air. Their actions remain unrestrained and unrebuked, and it is only in a fit of anger that their parents will, at times, subject them to some barbarous or cruel punishment. . . . When their supply of provisions begins to fail, or when they are pursued by enemies, or when a wife has been abandoned by her husband, their children are considered to be a burden too heavy to be borne, and to get rid of them they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or even bury them alive. Instances are even reported where parents have thrown one of their children

⁴⁵ Quoted by Westermarck, *l. c.*, 161.

⁴⁶ *Land of the Pigmies*, 182; the same writer (xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 37) says of the Black Pigmies: "the affections are almost an unknown quantity among them. They have apparently no ties of family affection, such as mother to daughter, sister to brother; while anything further removed than this is not recognized at all in the light of relationship." Cf. Dowd, *l. c.*, 14.

⁴⁷ A. H. S. Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, i., 111.

to the hungry lion that stood at the mouth of their cavern home, and refused to depart till his craving hunger was satisfied by the sacrifice of some living victim."⁴⁸

"The Kavirondo," says Sir Harry Johnston, "are inordinately fond of their cattle, and a chief will frequently bemoan the loss of one of his cows with more genuine and heartfelt grief than he would display if he lost a wife or a child." The same writer notes of the Masai: "Little boys . . . are soon put to work at herding cattle and making themselves generally useful. They are lean, lank little shrimps at this stage, and receive a large share of cuffs and kicks, and not over much food."⁴⁹ Richard Burton found in central and eastern Africa that

"Husband, wife, and children have through life divided interests, and live together with scant appearance of affection. Love of offspring can have but little power among a people who have no preventive for illegitimacy, and whose progeny may be sold at any time. The children appear undemonstrative and unaffectionate, as those of the Somal."⁵⁰ Among the Chukchi of Northeastern Asia boys are early put to hard work, with bad and scanty food.⁵¹ Spix and Martius say that among the Brazilian tribes the father has scarcely any, the mother only an instinctive affection, for the child.⁵² Von Martius, speaking of the Macusis of Rio Branco, says there is never any sign of kissing or fondling the child, and that its father is at any time in a position to sell it to some childless couple; "the

⁴⁸ Featherman, i., 532-3. Perhaps the lion episode is apocryphal! But see a somewhat similar case in a later paragraph.

⁴⁹ *Uganda*, ii., 742, 827; cf. von Martius, *Beiträge*, i., 261, note: among the Candeiros of Brazil dogs were often given the preference over children in matters of food and drink.

⁵⁰ *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 494.

⁵¹ Bogoras, in *Am. Anthropol.*, iii., n. s., 106.

⁵² Quoted by Lubbock, *Preh. Times*, 558.

price is the same that the Indian asks for his dog." Elsewhere he notes that not seldom children die of starvation or from other forms of inhuman neglect.⁵³ Kubu parents are said to be strikingly indifferent to their children.⁵⁴

Among the Oregon Indians,

"mothers, it is true, show a certain degree of affection toward their children; but even this is subject to exceptions, or rather is itself an exception. . . . Men have a certain pride of offspring, but it is rather as an evidence of virility on their own part than arising from parental care."⁵⁵

Of the Lower Californians, Baegert wrote:

"I cannot say that the Californian women are too fond of their children, and some of them may even consider the loss of one as a relief from a burden, especially if they have already some small children. I did not see many Californian mothers who caressed their children much while they lived, or tore their hair when they died, although a kind of dry weeping was not wanting on such occasions. The father is still more insensible, and does not even look at his (or at least his wife's) child as long as it is small and helpless." And elsewhere, "a little child that has lost its mother or both parents is also occasionally in danger of starving to death, the father being sometimes inhuman enough to abandon his offspring to its fate."⁵⁶

There is no word for love in the Papuan tongue. "I know of no animal save the duck," says Abel, "which is more

⁵³ *Beiträge zur Ethnographie*, etc., i., 125, 643, 644.

⁵⁴ Steinmetz, in *Ztschft. f. Socialwiss.*, i., 621; Volz's observations (*Archiv f. Anthropologie*, xxxv., 105, etc.) modify somewhat this statement.

⁵⁵ Gibbs, "Tribes of West. Wash. and N.W. Oregon," *Contrib. to Am. Ethnol.*, i., 198.

⁵⁶ Baegert, *l. c.*, 368-9, 363.

careless in attending to its young than the average Papuan mother. How many of them survive infancy and early childhood is a marvel."⁵⁷ Certain of the Fijians seem equally indifferent: "When at Lakemba I was told by Mosese Vakaloloma that, in their heathen state, they did not address their little ones as children, but would say, "Come here, you rats!"⁵⁸ A German voyager declares that among the Eskimo of the far northeast, "Die Kleinen wachsen auf wie die Schosshunde."⁵⁹ We have already noted the strong biologic attachment of the Greenlanders for their offspring; yet Crantz could say that "many boys are neglected in their youth, because the equipping them with a kajak and its appurtenances is expensive; but still more poor objects of the female sex perish with nakedness and hunger."⁶⁰ The Maoris at the opposite end of the world manifest little tenderness for their children; similarly the natives of Ruck Island.⁶¹ Of the Alfuren on Cerain Island Ploss writes that for the first few months after a child's birth, the father pays little or no attention to it; he scarcely sees it; he is in no hurry to accustom himself to the luxury of having offspring; with the result that many infants die in their first few months. The same writer speaks of the "empörende Lieblosigkeit der Eltern gegen ihre Kinder" which the explorer Ascherson found in the Farafrah Oasis in the Libyan Desert.⁶²

Instances of giving children away have been observed, notably among the Point Barrow Eskimo, and the Yakuts. There exist, too, cases of shocking cruelty. Several writers speak of Fuegians killing their children

⁵⁷ *Savage Life in New Guinea*, 42; cf. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, 589.

⁵⁸ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 140.

⁵⁹ Bessel, cited by Ploss, ii., 339.

⁶⁰ *L. c.*, i., 192.

⁶¹ Ploss, ii., 335-6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, i., 61; ii., 344.

for trifling accidents. Dibble relates how a Sandwich Island father broke his child's back to spite his wife; she retaliated by doing the same to the father's favorite child.⁶³ In an Eskimo legend a mother who was hiding from bears, and "who was afraid she would be discovered, strangled her child which was going to begin to cry."⁶⁴ Layland writes of a mountain tribe of South Africa which in times past was in the habit of placing children in their lion-traps, in order that their cries might attract the animals; this human bait often perished horribly.⁶⁵ Of the deliberate sacrifice of children we shall say but little; except that such sacrifices are still made, it is said, among the Ibibios of West Africa "at the funeral rites of their kings, when a new market is opened or the trade of a market needs improving . . . also at the performance of a religious play called Airon."⁶⁶ Formerly such ceremonies were very common throughout the Orient. The Krus of the African Gold Coast typify another line of cases. They are said to throw pepper in their children's eyes, or to stand them in baskets swarming with vicious red ants until they are frightfully bitten.⁶⁷ Such cases are perhaps referable rather to savage notions of discipline than to specific cruelty, yet they reveal a decided obtuseness in feeling. Further instances of this type will appear in the discussion of savage pedagogy, "endurance tests," etc.

⁶³ *Hist. of Sandwich Islands*, cited by Sumner in a Ms. note.

⁶⁴ Rasmussen, *l. c.*, 112.

⁶⁵ *J. A. I.*, i., 79.

⁶⁶ Marriott, xxix. *J. A. I.*, 24; cf. Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, ii., 215; Giglioli, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnographie*, vi., 123.

⁶⁷ Ploss, ii., 343.

Children Sold.—The matter of the sale of children merits considerable detail. The ancient Hebrew father could sell or pawn his own child to relieve his own distress.⁶⁸ Pre-Christian Scandinavian law restricted the sale of children to times of famine.⁶⁹ In ancient China both wives and children could be sold; and Smith says this practice was not confined to years of peculiar distress.⁷⁰ In Greece sale of children was widespread and not forbidden by law till Solon's time. In Thebes exposure was strictly forbidden, but sale permitted in cases of extreme poverty. The Roman *patria potestas* invested the *paterfamilias* with absolute power over his children, including right of sale and death. In the *Avesta*, murders are sometimes compensated for by the offer of young girls.⁷¹ But these customs were by no means confined to antiquity. We are told that the majority of Africans will sell their own offspring for a good price with much less reluctance than an Englishman would part with his dog.⁷² Letourneau adds his own picturesque touch: "dans presque toute l'Afrique, vendre son enfant, sa chose, n'est pas même

⁶⁸ Ewald, *Antiq. of Israel*, transl. Solly, 190.

⁶⁹ Lippert, i., 223, after Grimm.

⁷⁰ Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, 204; newspaper notices of Dec. 20, 1910, state that owing to dire famine in parts of China, sale of children is widespread; the figures quoted (1,000,000) are manifestly absurd. See Johnston's conservative statement, *Lion and Dragon*, 169, note.

⁷¹ Schrader, *Preh. Antiq.*, 390, 402; on *Patria Potestas*, see Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, i., 298; Beauvallet, *Étude historique sur la patria potestas*; Saumade, *Hist. de la puissance paternelle sur la personne de l'enfant*; Rampal, *De la condition de l'enfant dans le droit public ancien et moderne*. For a modern African example of *patria potestas*, see Garbutt's "Study of the Nyasa," in *Man*, Mar., 1912, p. 39.

⁷² Duncan, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1847), i., 262.

une peccadille; c'est un droit."⁷³ Graf von Götzen says that in Ruanda his men were continually offered children for sale.⁷⁴ But among the Orloikobs of the East Coast of Africa the father seems to have had the right to sell his child only if necessary to procure weapons of war or the indispensable necessities of life.⁷⁵ Natives of Wombasa, on the other hand, are said to dispose of their "surplus" by sale into slavery.⁷⁶ St. John states that children were sold into slavery by dozens in Brunei on the Limbang River in Borneo.⁷⁷ Von Martius found that Botocudo fathers, "tempted, by a happy bargain, not infrequently sold their minor children to the Brazilians."⁷⁸ The Macusi of Guiana can sell his offspring "if he wishes."⁷⁹ The Shasta Indians of California frequently sold them as slaves to the Chinooks.⁸⁰ Sieroshevsky mentions the case of a Yakut family who sold their eight-year-old daughter to a Russian officer who was passing through their country.⁸¹ The unsavory list need not be prolonged. These instances should suffice to demonstrate at least that parental affection is far from universal, and is neither an innate, nor a thoroughly acquired characteristic.⁸²

⁷³ *L'évol. de l'éduc.*, 81-2; Werner, *Brit. Centr. Africa*, 147, asserts in opposition that "the often made assertion that parents will sell their children into slavery has very little foundation, as far as Anyanja and Yaos are concerned. This only happens in very exceptional cases."

⁷⁴ *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West*, 191.

⁷⁵ Featherman, *l. c.*, i., 701.

⁷⁶ H. B. Johnstone, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 270-1.

⁷⁷ *L. c.*, ii., 30, 248.

⁷⁸ *Beiträge*, i., 322.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* i., 643-4; Sumner confirms this in a MS. note from Schomburgk's *Reisen*. ⁸⁰ Bancroft, *Native Races*, i., 351. ⁸¹ *L. c.*, 76.

⁸² We might add that folklore frequently yields suggestive examples; e.g., the Legend of Maui in Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*.

Ignorance of Child Hygiene.—While the claims of his developing intelligence gained for the human savage child a nurture and a rank immeasurably superior to that of his highest animal ancestors, yet it must be admitted that his position was far from secure. His life among rude nature peoples was subject to many contingencies. He was both valuable property and a troublesome burden by turns; now the toy and now the food of the family group. When times pressed hard, both extremes of the community, the aged and the young, were sacrificed to the common need. But even in times of safety and plenty a perpetual holocaust of child life went on, due to the ignorance and neglect of its proper needs. Instead of wondering over the low rate of increase among savage peoples, we should wonder rather that any of them should have reached maturity. That there are any "survivals" at all of primitive peoples is a remarkable testimony to the resistant power of the human frame, especially of the human stomach! Thus Ploss is inclined to dispute Rousseau's famous dictum in the *Émile*, "Tout est bien en sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme." He assures us that savages proceed direct from the Creator's hands in the Rousseau sense; hence we should expect to find among them the "good" methods of care and nurture of the young; but the contrary is true. "Allein die diätetische Behandlung des Neugeborenen ist keineswegs bei allen Naturvölkern musterhaft." In the matter of

The widespread practice of adoption in savagery also furnishes considerable evidence against the firmness of the "natural" bond between parents and children; see, e.g., Bücher, *Industr. Evol.*, 15.

baby food they depart extraordinarily far from what the simplest consideration would suggest as proper and natural. Neither in the choice of food, in its preparation, in its quantity, form or substance, is there anything corresponding to the demands of rational health (*Anforderungen der vernünftigen Gesundheitspflege*).

The Ekoi of southern Nigeria "are devoted parents, but it will take years of patient teaching before they grasp the importance of fresh air and the simplest sanitary measures for the health of their little ones."⁸³ In old Japan, the infant was not allowed the breast for nearly three days, and was dosed with a "horrible decoction used for staining the teeth, composed of water that had become putrid in an old teapot in which were a quantity of old rusty nails."⁸⁴ Man found mortality among Andamanese infants "excessive," and "traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well intentioned elders."⁸⁵ Masaba parents "are quite careless about their children smoking [Indian hemp]: for are not the children themselves responsible for their habits?"⁸⁶ Children of the Nagas "when they are hardly able to toddle are thorough-paced tobacco-smokers."⁸⁷ The Bushwomen "begin from the very beginning to feed them with roots and meat which they chew for them. They are taught to chew tobacco very young, and have scarcely any

⁸³ Talbot, *Nat. Geographic Mag.*, xxiii., 33.

⁸⁴ Pfoundes, xii. *J. A. I.*, 223.

⁸⁵ *J. A. I.*, xii, 329. In a note he adds, "Dr. Day has correctly stated that 'men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave.'" Killed by kindness!

⁸⁶ Purvis, *l. c.*, 337.

⁸⁷ Furness, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 456.

human protection or attention whatever."⁸⁸ Assinaboin Indians permitted their children to share in their drunken excesses.⁸⁹ Tibetan infants are fed on parched meal mixed with soup, the greater part of them getting no milk whatever.⁹⁰ Indeed even among tribes where milk is plentiful it often fails to figure in children's diet. The prolonged suckling of children is often cited as a mark of singular maternal care and affection; but there is a fly in the honey even here, for, as in Greenland where foodstuffs are rude and scanty, the extended mother-milk diet unfits the child for an abrupt transition to normal food. Hence should the mother die, or bear another infant, there is little hope of the older child's survival.⁹¹

The "hardening" processes through which savage children are often put are no less unhygienic than their food. The Fuegians plunge the newborn infant into the sea; the Yakuts into the snow. The Tibetans expose it to the sun's rays for several days; the Bedouins do likewise. An old voyager to the Congo noted that children were always "kept naked upon the ground, to the end that they may thereby grow hardy and active."⁹²

"Yakut children are often suckled at night to keep them quiet, but in the daytime they lie cold, damp, and neglected, while their uproar fills the house. . . . Some mothers employ a means of putting their children to sleep, especially if they are fretful boys, which often causes spermatorrhea."⁹³

Russian children even in the eighteenth century are reported as "not tenderly nurtured, illy clad even in ex-

⁸⁸ Ratzel, ii., 268-75.

⁸⁹ Lewis and Clarke, *l. c.*, i., 254.

⁹⁰ *Smithson. Rep.*, 1893, large vol., 724.

⁹¹ Crantz, *l. c.*, i., 162.

⁹² Merolla in Pinkerton, xvi., 237.

⁹³ Sieroshevsky-Sumner, *l. c.*, 80.

treme cold weather.”⁹⁴ The filth in which they are often allowed to lie is indescribable. Marchand set down in his voyages that among the Thinkeets infants were “so excoriated by fermented filth and so scarred by their cradle, that they carry the marks to the grave.”⁹⁵ Igorot babies, at least those that have attained six or eight months, are almost without exception very dirty; a child of a year or year and a half is usually repulsively so; its head has received no attention since birth, and is scaly and dirty if not actually full of sores.⁹⁶ In some parts of China children instead of being provided with diapers are clad in a pair of bifurcated bags partly filled with sand or earth. Weighted with these strange equipments the poor child is at first rooted to the spot like Mark Twain’s Jumping Frog. In the districts where this custom prevails it is common to speak of a person who exhibits small practical knowledge as one who has not yet been taken out of his “earth trousers.”⁹⁷ Perhaps we might add that the various anointings with urine, cow-dung, etc., in vogue in many countries have not the virtues assigned to them, to say nothing of probable opposite effects. Bathing, too, is variously regarded; with some tribes it is a virtue, with others a vice; in general it is a sport or a ceremonial rather than a hygienic measure; and the infant stands or falls according to the local belief and practice.

Infant Mortality.—In view of such evidence, need we wonder that the infant mortality rate among savage

⁹⁴ Pinkerton, vi., 708; see also Ploss, ii., 3-9; Reclus, *l. c.*, 51; Nelson, *Ind. of N. J.*, 41; Teit, in vol. ii., *Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist. Memoirs*, 177-8 (Thompson River Indians).

⁹⁵ *Smithson. Rep.*, 1887, pt. ii., 175, note.

⁹⁶ Jenks, *l. c.*, 61.

⁹⁷ Smith, *Chin. Char.*, 129.

peoples is frightfully high? Take even so advanced a people as the Igorot:

"Of fifteen families in Bontoc," says Jenks, "each having had three or more children, the death rate up to the age of puberty was over 60 per cent. According to the Malaguay census the death rate of children from 5 to 10 years of age is 63.73 per cent."⁹⁸

Captain Burrows found that the death rate among Mang-bettou children was very high, and attributed it to neglect.⁹⁹ Hartmann found similar conditions around the upper Nile.¹⁰⁰ Among the Uganda peasants Sir Harry Johnston says: "Infant mortality is terrible. It is rare that a peasant woman succeeds in rearing more than one child. And among the Kavirondo, mothers frequently lose all their children."¹⁰¹ Baegert gives a pathetic picture of the slaughter of the innocents among his Californians:

"It is certain that many of the women are barren, and that a great number of them bear not more than one child. Only a few out of one or two hundred bring forth eight or ten times, and if such is the case, it happens very seldom that one or two of the children arrive at mature age. I baptized, in succession, seven children of a young woman, yet I had to bury them all before one of them had reached its third year, and when I was about to leave the country, I recommended to the woman to dig a grave for the eighth child, with which she was pregnant at the time."¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Jenks, *l. c.*, 45. ⁹⁹ *Land of the Pigmies*, 86.

¹⁰¹ *L. c.*, ii., 721, 748.

¹⁰⁰ Ploss, ii., 7.

¹⁰² *L. c.*, 368.

The Yakut record is scarcely less distressing. Sieroshevsky cites the case of a woman married at twenty, who bore nine children, of whom seven died in childhood, one was born dead, and one daughter grew up. Another had nine, all of whom died; another eight and lost them all. Another out of ten brought up two; another five out of twenty; another seven out of nineteen, and another only one out of six; exceptional was the woman who out of five reared all.¹⁰³ Probably these figures could be matched almost at random among savage and barbarous peoples, but it has always proved extremely difficult to collect child-mortality statistics among them, largely on account of their feeble memorial powers in this particular.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, infant mortality assumes such proportions among primitive peoples, and even those higher in the scale, that special malevolent demons are conceived as carrying off and destroying children. Such a belief occurs, for example, in ancient Judea, in Persia, among the Yoruba-speaking peoples of Africa, in South Russia, and Bohemia.¹⁰⁵ Mr. Zangwill's stories of contempor-

¹⁰³ Sieroshevsky-Sumner, *l. c.*, 79; cf. for Nicobar Islanders, Svoboda, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, v., 192; Kubus, see Volz, *Archiv f. Anthropologie*, xxxv., 98; Zuffis, ten Kate, *Ztschft. f. Ethnol.* xxi., 667; Malay Archipelago, Kohlbrügge, *Ztschft. f. Ethnol.*, xxxii., 397; China, Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, 129; Ross, in *Am. Jour. Sociology*, May, 1911; Annamese, Vassal, *On and Off Duty in Annam*, 224-5; North India, Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, i., 27; New Guinea, Pösch, "Rassenhygienische u. Ärztliche Beobachtungen aus Neu-Guinea," *Archiv f. Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie*, v., 46-66.

¹⁰⁴ See *ante*, pp. 10, 91-3.

¹⁰⁵ *Jewish Quarterly*, Oct., 1889; Winternitz, "Das Kind bei den Juden", *Am Ur-Quell*, ii., (1891), pp. 5-7, 34-6; Ellis, *Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, 111-12; Krauss, *Volks Glaube u. Religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, 98.

ary Jewish life in London tell of amulets hung above the beds of mothers in childbirth to fend off Lilith who makes away with infants. We shall have to concede, in view of the evidence here presented, that *certainly in primitive times, and perhaps as surely nowadays, the mere fact of parenthood brings with it neither intellect, knowledge, nor special capacity. It does bring, usually, an emotional interest which may or may not be coined into sober sense for the offspring's benefit. In fine, the intelligent care of children is a social product, nay, the index of social development, and its very flower.*

Children Eaten.—The "natural" decimation wrought upon savage childhood through ignorance and neglect of the merest rudiments of hygiene, enormous as it was, tells only half of the story. Man in all ages has co-operated with nature and added to the harvest of death. Whatever the notions which prompted them, whether ideas of cannibalism, or sacrifice, or population-check, the various forms of infanticide have been well-nigh universal. Abortion we can dismiss at once as a restraining device, a rule-of-thumb Malthusianism, in default of deliberate moral self-restraint, and of little effect upon the parental relation.¹⁰⁶ Cannibalism practiced upon children, once no doubt pretty widespread, is now fortunately minimized, and resorted to usually only under stress of famine. Cases are reported from the Polar North, from Australia, Fiji, Borneo, and Africa. Professor Boas says of the Central Eskimo:

"The dogs are the first to fall victims to the pressing hunger, and if the worst comes cannibalism is resorted to.

¹⁰⁶ For discussions of this topic, see *Archiv f. Anthropol.*, v., 451 ff.; Sutherland, i., 137, etc.

But all these cases are spoken of with the utmost horror. In such cases children particularly are killed and eaten. Fortunately, however, such occurrences are very rare."¹⁰⁷

In hard summers the newborn children were all eaten by the Kaura tribe in the neighborhood of Adelaide.¹⁰⁸ Among the Luritchas, another Australian tribe, "a healthy child may be killed for the purpose of feeding a weaker and elder one."¹⁰⁹ Williams saw "the grey-headed and children of both sexes devoted to the oven" in Fiji.¹¹⁰ Certain Borneo tribes are reported as eating children within fairly recent times. "It is likewise said, but we do not know it for a truth, that when they give their yearly feast (makantaun) a man will borrow a plump child, for eating, from his neighbor, and repay in kind with a child of his own, when wanted."¹¹¹ But an incident out of the exciting adventures of Captain Burrows in Africa will best illustrate present-day cannibalism, and at the same time serve as an index of the general cheapness of child life in savage thought.

"While I was conducting a punitive expedition against the Maboda (Congo River), I saw a boy hit in the shoulder by a bullet from one of the muzzle-loading guns that are used by the natives. . . . Looking supremely unconcerned and apathetic about the whole affair, he was carried to one side by the men nearest to him. I called the men up and

¹⁰⁷ *Bur. Ethn.*, vi., 574.

¹⁰⁸ Howitt, *N. T. of S. E. A.*, 749.

¹⁰⁹ Spencer and Gillen, *N. T. of C. A.*, 608; Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, 178, speaks of the Chinese practice of serving sick parents with cooked portions of their children's flesh—a heroic remedy of fabulous efficacy!

¹¹⁰ *L. c.*, 165.

¹¹¹ Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, ii., 220; the uncertainty probably refers only to the occasion prompting the practice.

told them off to take him up to the camp where the other wounded were lying. They objected that he was only a boy and it did not matter. I rated them for their insubordination and saw my order carried through. But for some time afterwards the men continued to grumble, saying I might just as well let them have the boy for killing when the work of the fight was done. The boy recovered, and remained with me for a considerable time; but the two men, as well as many of the others who had heard of the circumstance, were highly disgusted with me, and laboured long under a sense of having been the victims of gross injustice."¹¹²

Abnormal Infanticide.—The weak, deformed, or otherwise unfit child almost invariably succumbed in primitive social selection. In West Africa, for instance, deformed children have no legal existence; they are not considered human; moreover, they are not buried nor destroyed, but merely thrown away.¹¹³ Among the Hottentots, Zulus, some American Indians, in ancient Iceland, and in classical antiquity, the unfit were usually exposed to die.¹¹⁴ Twins were quite generally considered as monstrosities and so treated. If spared, usually some rather elaborate propitiatory ceremonies were deemed necessary. Sometimes only one, but often both, and the mother as well, were killed;

¹¹² *Land of the Pigmies*, 154; cf. Bennett, in xxix. *J. A. I.*, 84; see Lippert, ii., 284, 289–91, for discussion of certain phases of child-cannibalism. For proof of child cannibalism from prehistoric archæology, see Joly, *Man before Metals*, 341–2.

¹¹³ Miss Kingsley, *W. A. S.*, 148–9; the reverse is true among Ba-Yaka of Congo Free State (xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 51).

¹¹⁴ Ratzel, ii., 291, 436; Mooney, *Bur. Ethn. Bulletin* 30, 266; Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, ii., 40; Schrader, *Preh. Antiq.*, 390.

and sometimes a slave, as an extra measure to avert the evil influence which had produced them. Suffice it to mention that typical cases occur in many parts of Africa, in Australia, Southern India, Peru, and among North American Indians.¹¹⁵

Normal Infanticide.—But apart from such apparent abnormalities, infanticide must be considered in its normal operation. It is difficult to make any universally valid generalizations on this subject. We are probably safe in asserting that in general the newborn infant was not regarded as an individual, as a *person*, until he had at least received some portion of his mother's personality in the shape of nourishment.¹¹⁶ In some cases he acquired personality only with his name. In any event the age at which a child could be killed or suffered to perish without offense to the public conscience has been gradually reduced; so that under the influence of Christian theology the foetus and even the conceptual cell were invested with inviolability. It is notorious that in historic times fathers had the right to decide whether the newborn babe should live or not. Old German, Slavic, and Scandinavian laws are explicit in this regard, and Roman and Hindu practice was similar; in numerous savage tribes it is

¹¹⁵ Ploss, ii., 265-75; Kidd, *l. c.*, 45-9; Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 11; Spencer and Gillen, *N. T. of C. A.*, 609; Thurston, *Ethnogr. Notes in S. I.*, 502-9; Lubbock, *Preh. Times*, 554-5; Mooney, *Bur. Ethn. Bulletin* 30, 266; Featherman, *l. c.*, 224; Parkinson, xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 317. *Cases of sparing twins*: Skeat and Blagden, *l. c.*, ii., 24; Roscoe, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 32-5; Seligmann, *The Melanesians of Brit. New Guinea*, 86; Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 748, 793, 878.

¹¹⁶ See, e. g., Werner, *Brit. Centr. Africa*, 103; Piludski, "Schwangerschaft, etc., bei den Einwohnern der Insel Sachalin," in *Anthropos*, v., 756-74; Cushing, *Primitive Motherhood*, 30-1.

still the custom to rest the infant's fate upon the father's decision. What determines this decision? Well, it is usually simply an example in fractions: Will the denominator bear increasing? Will the food-numerator bear the added strain? In a nomadic tribe there is also the question of transportation. We are dealing here really in economics rather than psychology or ethics; but not exclusively so, and for that reason we can give only half assent to Tylor's dictum that infanticide arises from hardness of life rather than from hardness of heart. One reason at least will appear later. Meanwhile we may refer the whole matter to the *mores* as including at once the economic, psychological, and ethical causes. Space will not permit even the citation of typical cases; details are readily accessible, for anthropological literature bristles with them. Suffice it to note here that in addition to economic motives, whim, personal dislikes, anger, unwillingness to bother with rearing children, grievance against the infant for having caused the mother pain before birth, or some religious notion, decreed the infant's death. Cases also like the following from Fiji occur: "They often adopt orphans, for whom they display far more love than for their own offspring." Williams knew a case where parents arranged to murder their own infant to make place for an adopted child.¹¹⁷ A combination of motives sometimes provokes the practice, as in Murray Island (Torres Straits): here after a certain number of children had been born the rest were destroyed lest the food supply should become insufficient; but regardless of this general principle, if the

¹¹⁷ Williams and Calvert, *l. c.*, 142.

children were born all of one sex, some were destroyed from shame, "it being held proper to have an equal number of boys and girls."¹¹⁸ The obvious deduction from such facts, and the only deduction pertinent to our subject, is that if there be such a thing as a "parental instinct," it is frequently outweighed and canceled by the impulse to self-maintenance; and it matters little in considering such a supersession of parental instinct, whether you derive infanticide from hardness of life, or hardness of heart.¹¹⁹

Lack of Filial Sentiment.—We have so far spoken mainly of the relation of parent to child. But what of the reciprocal relation? Does, for example, what we

¹¹⁸ Rev. A. E. Hunt, xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 11.

¹¹⁹ General discussions of infanticide: Ploss, ii., 243-64; Post, *Familienrechts*, 332 ff.; Sumner, *Folkways*, 316 ff.; Lippert, i., 201 ff.; Wake, *l. c.*, 75-6; Wuttke, *Gesch. des Heidenthums*, i., 185-6; Sutherland, *l. c.*, i., chap. ii., vi.; Parsons, *The Family*, chap. iii. Typical cases: Stammler, *Ueber die Stellung der Frau im alten Deutschen Recht*, 13; Schmidt, *La Société civile dans le monde romaine*, etc., 56; Boas, *Bur. Ethn.*, vi., 580; Brown, *Indian Infanticide*, 7, 12, 110, 121, etc.; Eyre, *Discoveries in Centr. Australia*, ii., 324; Howitt, *S. E. Australians*, 749; Howitt, *N. T. of S. E. Austral.*, 748-50; Lubbock, *Preh. Times*, 163, 423, 520; Nelson, *Bur. Ethn.*, xviii., 290; Spencer and Gillen, *N. T. of C. A.*, 609; Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 142; Thomson, xxxi. *J. A. I.*, 141; Hawtrey, xxxi. *J. A. I.*, 295; Johnstone, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 270-1; Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, etc., i., 100-1; "Infanticide unknown in Andaman Islands," Man, xii. *J. A. I.*, 329; Dorsey (*Bur. Ethn.*, iii., 268) found that Omaha parents had no right to put their children to death; similarly the Ba-Yaka (xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 45). For brief discussion of custom of paternal "taking up" of the infant, see Schrader, *Preh. Antiq.*, 389.

A whole crop of interesting problems is suggested by the fact that an excess of downy beard on the face is found with special frequency in modern women guilty of infanticide (see Ellis, *The Criminal*, p. 79). Does this indicate a regressive tendency toward the male type and does it indicate that the male is "naturally" more indifferent to his children?

call filial respect, or piety, exist among primitive peoples? Biologically, it is evident that the family in some form must have persisted, and it is altogether probable that selection has operated to secure a certain degree of filial attachment; for the precociously independent and over-bold child must have perished. It is true also that under the influence of the ancestor-cult, and wherever the patriarchal organization prevails, filial subordination is highly developed; so much so, that in cases like the Chinese, civilization marks time and thought atrophies. Cases have been observed where filial surpasses parental affection, but they are decidedly exceptional. On the whole, the savage child is just as self-willed, independent, and disobedient as he dare be. Whatever respect and devotion he manifests come not from an innate instinct, but rather from a sense of his material insufficiency, either in the present or in the past; for often it is merely a glance backward to the Golden Age of the mother-breast. Such a feeling is not confined to children or savages. Slavery begets a preference for tutelage over freedom. The persistence of religious dogmas and hierarchies witnesses to the average man's preference for dependence rather than religious and ethical self-maintenance. But respect for parents and elders had also an anticipatory aspect; it was motivated and strengthened by fear, fear of a very particular kind, very real, very lively, and not lightly to be disregarded. "We will do what he says, for he will die," said a group of West African negroes of one of their old men. For, dying, he could become a source of permanent annoyance, if not immeasurable injury to the careless and rebellious. Regard for children,

as we have already seen, was rarely concerned with childhood *as such*; so likewise with old age: age was respected, for it meant prudence and skill in solving life problems; but only after long cycles of development does *age as such* command respect. Hence the apparent contradiction observed in savage life, where age is highly regarded, but old age hated and neglected. And no amount of glossing will cover up this antinomy. Williams, for example, writes of the Fijians:

“In the destruction of their decrepit parents, the Fijians sometimes plead affection, urging that it is a kindness to shorten the miserable period of second childhood. In their estimation, the use of a rope instead of the club is a mark of love so strong that they wonder when a stronger is demanded. In many cases, however, no attempt is made to disguise the cruelty of the deed. It is a startling, but incontestable fact, that in Fiji there exists a general system of parricide, which ranks too, in all respects, as a social institution.”¹²⁰

Only when wisdom comes to be prized above mere physical strength does the antagonism cease between vigorous youth and an old age unable to “pay its way.” The relation between the living and the dead was even more antagonistic, or at least utilitarian rather than affectionate.¹²¹

¹²⁰ *L. c.*, 145; cf. for ancient Germany, Tylor, *Anthropology*, 411.

¹²¹ We are probably not far from the truth if we say flatly that filial piety as we know it is only incidental to primitive life. The emphasis is laid on the cult or ritual aspect of sonship. The Fifth Commandment, for instance, the only commandment “with promise,” enjoins honor to one’s parents, but honor in the sense of keeping the soul-cult going; furthermore, the reward is explicitly conditional upon the performance of these *cult* duties. The bond is purely ritualistic and not

"Of all the forms of virtue filial affection is perhaps that which appears most rarely in Roman history," says W. H. Lecky.¹²² We might extend the area of this remark to include a large part of savage life, past and present. Similiar observations come from Samoa, Tahiti, Greenland, from the Yakuts, the Bechuanas, the Dengas, the Bororo, etc.¹²³ Of the Brazilians von Martius writes: "Ehrfurcht und Gehorsam sind den Kindern fremd."¹²⁴ Identical is the judgment upon the Upper Amazon tribes.¹²⁵ The Chukchi of Northeastern Asia are described as such crude and passionate individualists that they resent any authority, even wives against husbands, and children against parents.¹²⁶ It is common knowledge that some of the North American Indians deliberately inculcated filial independence and even disobedience as marks of vigorous manhood. But another view of the matter comes out in the remark of a Navajo Indian, that he was afraid to

affectionate. For general discussion of the filial relation, see, e.g., Lippert, i., 77, 226-9; Spencer, *Prin. of Sociol.*, sec. 317; Wuttke, *G. des H.*, i., 186-7; for instances of filial respect: Bancroft, *Native Races*, i., 635; Boas, *Bur. Ethn.*, vi., 566; Ellis, *Yoruba-Sp. Peoples*, 158; Featherman, i., 580; Hutter, "Politische u. Sociale Verhältnisse bei den Grasslandstämmen," etc. in 76 *Globus*, 307; Miss Kingsley, *W. A. S.*, 373; Leclerc, in *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, xlv., 6; Lewin, *Wild Races of S. E. India*, 256; Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo*, 43; Ratzel, i., 105, ii., 544; Sarasin, *Die Weddahs*, 469; Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, 173; Tylor, *P. C.*, ii., 118; Ménard, *La vie privée des Anciens*, ii., 4; Hoogers, "Théorie et pratique de la piété filiale chez les Chinois," in *Anthropos*, v., 1-15, 688-702.

¹²² *Hist. of European Morals*, i., 299.

¹²³ Ploss, ii., 336, 337, 343; Rasmussen, *l. c.*, 186; Ratzel (Germ. ed.), i., 294; von den Steinen, *l. c.*, 503; Thonar, *Explorations dans l'Amérique du Sud*, 56; Gibbs, *l. c.*, 198.

¹²⁴ *Beiträge*, i., 124.

¹²⁵ Spix and Martius, *Brasilien*, 1226.

¹²⁶ Bogoras, in *Am. Anthropol.*, iii., n. s., 92.

correct his own boy lest the child should wait for a convenient opportunity and shoot him with an arrow.¹²⁷ A similar state of affairs prevailed amongst the Delawares, for, says Loskiel,

"the parents are very careful, not to beat or chastise them for any fault, fearing lest the children might remember it, and revenge themselves on some future occasion."
 "The Kato Pomo treated their parents with a certain consideration, that is, they would always divide the last morsel of dried salmon with genuine savage thriftlessness; but as for any active, nurturing tenderness, it did not exist, or only very seldom."¹²⁸

Mortlock Island mothers fear to correct their spoiled and pampered sons.¹²⁹ Not at all unusual is the case of the Yakut, who, reproached for his behaviour to his mother, said: "Let her cry; let her go hungry. She made me cry more than once, and she begrudged me my food. She used to beat me for trifles."¹³⁰ But Captain Burrows tells the most remarkable instance I have encountered of disregard for home or parental ties. He offered his pigmy boy liberty and the opportunity to return to his own people. To the Captain's intense surprise, the boy refused and

¹²⁷ Bancroft, *Nat. Races*, i., 514, note.

¹²⁸ Loskiel, *l. c.*, 61-2; Powers, *l. c.*, 153, 178. Similar conditions among Caribbeans and Fejir Bedouins: cf. Steinmetz, *Das Verhältnis*, etc., 629; Fynn, *l. c.*, 148-9, generalizes thus: "Among some wild and roving tribes, not only of America but of other lands, either of the parents, but especially the mother, may be killed by the son on very slight provocation, and the murderer is not seriously molested." I have not found sufficient evidence to justify so broad a statement.

¹²⁹ Steinmetz, *Ethnol. Stud.*, ii., 187, after Kubary.

¹³⁰ Sieroshevsky-Sumner, *l. c.*, 78.

thought such a proposition indicated that he had given offense. To propitiate his master the boy bethought himself of an original scheme:

"I 'll tell you what I 'll do," he said. "If you will lend me five soldiers, I 'll place two there, and two over there (indicating positions), and I 'll go over there with the other. Then I 'll call my father and mother into the ring, and we will capture them and bring them to you."

Captain Burrows adds: "I think he was disappointed that I did not accept this curious proposition, which shed a clear light on his ideas of the fifth commandment."¹³¹ It is pretty safe to conclude that *the filial relation does not come within the domain of "natural ethics," and is not an innate characteristic. Like the marital and parental relations, it, too, takes on the form and color of its social surroundings.*

Savage Obtuseness.—To account, at least in part, for these sad lapses in primitive parental and filial relations, we must go back once more to our estimate of savage mental outfit. There we found the savage marked in general by a certain dullness in his sensibilities. To refresh our minds let us take Mr. Kidd's picturesque description of the Kafir's nerves, remembering that the Kafirs occupy a relatively advanced culture status.

"To Europeans there is something almost incredible in the accounts of the dullness of a Kafir's nerves; but there is ample evidence as to this dullness. It is quite common for a native girl to break a needle deep in the palm of her hand. After trying in vain for a few days to extract it, she

¹³¹ *Land of the Pigmies*, 189, 191.

allows a white man, or even a native doctor, to slash away in the deep tissues. The girl will merely cover her head so that her fancy may not run away with her, and lead her to imagine that things are worse than they really are. She will not wince or show the slightest indication of suffering during this most painful operation. Occasionally, however, a native is as susceptible to pain as any European, and dreads even the pulling out of a tooth; but as a rule he is very callous. A Johannesburg doctor told me that on one occasion a Kafir came to him to have two teeth pulled out. The price was arranged for in advance. When the teeth were both out, the Kafir only offered half the fee, saying that the doctor did not give him anything like enough pain to deserve the whole amount. And just as a Kafir is slow in locating pain which is being experienced in his own body, so is he slow in imagining what others are suffering. A grown-up Kafir told me with great amusement, that when he was a small boy his father threatened him with a beating if he did something or other. The child was puzzled as to whatever a beating could be, for though he had often seen his bigger brothers being beaten, his imagination was unable to work *in vacuo*, and to reconstruct the experience of another into terms of his own sensation. When his father threatened him, the child simply laughed at him. . . . It took a very short time for our young gentleman to extend the boundaries of his knowledge."¹³²

¹³² *L. c.*, 64-5; cf. Lippert's observation on the "relative Unempfindlichkeit des Naturmenschen" (*l. c.*, ii., 277-8). If it be objected that recent experiments in psychology indicate that there is no essential difference between civilized and uncivilized races in their general "sensitivity," our point is all the clearer, for it is obvious that amongst peoples of so-called dull sensitivity such categories of sensitivity as fine parental or filial feeling are undeveloped, there being apparently no demand for them.

136 Primitive Family and Education

Here it seems we have a key to the savage's neglect of his family, and to the lack of filial affection on the part of primitive youth. If the savage's "I"-concept was so utterly incomplete as to be unable to connect pain or discomfort with his own bodily processes, it is easy to see how it was at least equally impossible to consider ejectively the pains and sufferings of others. In other words, an understanding sympathy must rest in no small degree on personalizing pain.¹³³ It is obvious then that a high familial, parental, or filial sense could only have developed with a growing sense of personality. By whatever degree the modern family relation transcends the purely biologic connection of parent and offspring, it is due to the taking on of meanings derived from the give and take of an ever developing societal life. For only from the wider range of a more and more intensive and extensive group life could be gathered the materials for constructing that nobler and richer concept of "I" and "you" which is the basis of adequate family life.¹³⁴

¹³³ Hence Adam Smith's sympathy theory seems to be borne out by the process of personality-development, by the "Dialectic of Personal Growth."

¹³⁴ It may be further remarked that this inability to "reconstruct the experience of another into terms of his own sensation" is not confined to savages. One of the subtlest and most widespread temptations to persons in authority—public officers, parents, teachers, ethical leaders—is the setting of tasks, jobs, "stunts," ideals, which they themselves would not or could not carry out, or for which they could develop no inclination or interest. This temptation results in an endless variety of "busy work," tasks to keep folks "out of mischief," discipline for discipline's sake, etc. There is an enormous expenditure of energy and enthusiasm in aimless effort. And what is perhaps even worse than these losses is the loss of confidence and respect for authority. Such

Lack of Forethought or Sense of Sin.—A further reason may be assigned for the tenuosity of the primitive family bond, namely, the tendency to live in the moment, which so strongly marks primitive man. His life has not emerged completely from its pre-human matrix of instinctive and reflex action. His ends and aims, his reactions, are immediate, with little or no forethought or memory. His life deals largely with particulars. He is not given to introspection, to weighing, to considering at long range. He drives his thoughts tandem rather than abreast; hence there is little grouping or comparison, but rather seriality. He has then no large body of reference, nor perhaps could he use it. What pleases or displeases him at any particular instant is dealt with in much the same way that we giggle when we are tickled, regardless of dignity or received opinion. This accounts in part for the apparent contradictions in the savage's treatment of his children. He may break his child over his knee for a trifling fault, or snuff out its life for the momentary annoyance of its crying, and immediately after may fondle another with the same impulsiveness.¹³⁵ Again,

abuses of authority are readily perceived and resented by subjects, students, children.

¹³⁵ See, e.g., Parkinson, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, xiii., 22; he speaks of "ein sonderbares Gemisch von falscher Liebe und unmenschlicher Grausamkeit," which marks certain New Guinea parents. The irrational tendency of primitive men to wreak their vengeance or ill-will on whatever or whomever is near by without regard to its connexion with the injury received must have worked disastrously upon child life. This tendency survives in modern lower-class families. The following passage from a little volume, *Les Enfants en Prison*, by the well-known French philanthropists Tomel and Rollet, can be matched in the records of any divorce court or Juvenile Court: "Lorsqu'un

primitive man had no sense of "sin" in neglecting his offspring. His life was still too near the lower margin of conscious reflective action to bother much about motives or to have remorse; sin being to him, as Miss Kingsley says, only "a very ill-advised act against powerful, nasty-tempered spirits."¹³⁶ No doubt, fear of what "They" would say operated to the child's advantage among lower peoples, as it does in our own midst; perhaps even more powerfully among them, because of the other-worldly tinge to the "They." At any rate a relation requiring such a whip can hardly be said to have attained the higher ranks of virtue.

SUMMARY.—We shall now attempt to summarize very briefly our study of these phases of primitive family life, and to draw, if possible, some educational conclusion from it. In the first place, it seems clear that the marital relation was, to say the least, shifting and unstable; and that while it was based to a considerable extent upon common care for common offspring, other elements, notably economic, entered into it. Furthermore, the marriage relation was not one between equals; in nearly every case either one or the other of the pair was a nullity or in a state of dependence: either the husband was subordinated to his wife's family, or she to him, or both to the group. In either case there was little assurance to the child of that firm and orderly background which is essential to coherence

ménage vient à être brusquement rompu, non par la mort, mais par l'inconduite ou la disparition d'un conjoint, il n'est pas rare que l'enfant abandonné porte le poids de la haine vouée au fugitif ou à la fugitive."

¹³⁶ *West African Studies*, 159; cf. Ellis, *Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, 293-4.

and continuity in education. Secondly, the relation of parent to child was far from stable or enduring. If there be such a thing as "parental instinct," it is at best only a secondary instinct; and I should go so far as to say that it is not even a thoroughly acquired characteristic. Whatever of distinction and permanence it has acquired it owes to a gradual rise in the general level of intelligence, which is in turn a social process. The hazy ideas of relationship as revealed in primitive language, myth, and tradition, and in such customs as the couvade, had their appropriate effect in preventing a close family life or strict family sense. Sex taboos and the separation of children from their families obviously removed the center of gravity, educationally and otherwise, from within the family circle. Only in such exceptional cases as the patriarchy was the family a unit economically and educationally; and its educational services were relatively unimportant, if not actually deleterious to human progress. Finally, it is doubtful if the family, *as family*, could function as an effective educational institution, since it lacked at least one and often several of the fundamental requirements for sound teaching. Mere parenthood does not miraculously bring with it the capacity to rear and nurture children. At least it did not in primitive times. Savage parents show an astounding ignorance of the rudimentary physical needs of childhood. Such gross ignorance coupled, as it often was, with indifference, cupidity, and downright cruelty, could not and did not fail to work havoc upon the life of its youth. Hardness of life, hardness of heart, and a certain dullness of sensibilities are not calculated to produce much in the

way of capable, understanding, sympathetic teaching. A final indispensable element in education is an attitude of respect and teachableness on the part of the taught; and this attitude is at least inconspicuous in the relations of savage childhood to its parents. We are justified, I think, in concluding that, *on the whole, the primitive family was rather biologic and economic than educational in its function.*

CHAPTER VI

AIMS AND CONTENT OF PRIMITIVE EDUCATION

Savages Have Educational Processes.—Popular opinion denies to nature-peoples any serious share in the educational development of the race. But those writers on education who dismiss offhand the whole subject of primitive education as of no value to the modern educator would do well to look into it a little closer. For neither the evolution of civilization nor the history of education is a succession of isolated events; each stage shades almost insensibly into the next as do the stages in mental development. The amoeba holds a germ of Shakespeare and Goethe, and challenges attention for that, if for no other reason. The struggle for self-maintenance depends more on the arts of using what nature provides than on the raw gifts themselves. Man plus a tool or a knowledge of agriculture wrings out of an unwilling soil more life sustenance than his unequipped rival on better ground. Human selection becomes, then, a struggle of intelligence, of education. Darwin remarked:

“Of the high importance of the intellectual faculties there can be no doubt, for man mainly owes to them his preëminent position in the world. . . . Numbers depend

primarily on the means of subsistence, and this, partly on the physical nature of the country, but in a much higher degree on the arts which are there practiced.¹

But these "arts which are there practiced" are not some mysterious organ with which man is endowed; they are modes of action acquired and communicated. This process is education, a cumulative and progressive function. Wherever such arts exist, there you may be sure to find education of some sort or other. It is true that if we set up strict analytic categories, and examine primitive education under various arbitrary heads, we shall find some of the pigeon-holes entirely empty or only very slightly filled. Still, incomplete as the subject is, much educational material of practical value may be extracted from it. The importance of festivals and dancing, to say nothing of the whole subject of play, is enhanced by an examination of savage methods of instruction. One need not adhere strictly to the Culture-Epoch theory in modern education to profit by its suggestions.

In the following discussion we have attempted to study primitive education under several aspects, viz., its Aims, Content, Methods, and Organization. But it will soon become apparent how unavoidably the several topics overlap, this in simple consequence of their lack of differentiation in practice. Perhaps we should remind ourselves at the outset that savages are educable, not only according to their own systems, but also to a considerable extent according to ours. Furthermore, we are to recognize that savage habits, traits,

¹ *Descent of Man*, i., 153.

customs, and crafts are not, and never have been, innate instincts, but are the products of real learning. Eastman, for instance, writes on behalf of his Indian tribesmates:

“It seems to be a popular idea that all the characteristic skill of the Indian is instinctive and hereditary. This is a mistake. All the stoicism and patience of the Indian are acquired traits, and continued practice alone makes him master of the art of woodcraft.”²

AIMS

Habit and Adjustment its Aims.—If we define the purpose of education as “fitting for life,” we may say that the aims of savage education and modern education are identical. But if we add the Aristotelian notion that education is for the *good* life, then it is true that modern rises above savage education to just the degree of this qualification. At its lower extreme, savage education touches the nurture methods of the higher animals. Indeed, as we have already shown, children among certain peoples fare little better, so far as education is concerned, than if they were offspring of the beasts. Igorot children, for example, are said to learn the tribal industries “quite as a young fowl learns to scratch and get its food.” And Itau Eskimo “wachsen auf wie die Schosshunde.” But at its best the aim of savage education was the formation of a body of habits; it was adjustment to present environment, actual or imagined, rather than the progressive ad-

² *Indian Boyhood*, 52.

justment to a changing environment which is the aim of modern teaching. The distinction appears best when we say that modern education seeks to develop flexibility, the conscious ability to vary, to meet new situations; in other words, that it tends to shift the center of "selection" from without to within consciousness. Those moralists and educators who believe that the perfect human type is a perfect automatism of wonderful range and accuracy, err according to our notions, but would have been eminently at home in savagery. They neglect the dynamic element, the fact that the set of conditions we call the "world" or the "environment" is not fixed once for all, but is inconstant, moves, changes, is in perpetual flux, as Heraclitus observed. Hence the mere habit of acting will not suffice. There must be as well the power of not acting. And however small we leave this *margin of refusal*, it must be there; indeed, it is the vital element in the whole scheme of adaptation. The most important habit of all is the habit of thinking; and this is *per se* the habit of flexibility, of deliberation, of negation of other habits. An automatic spring lock is not only valueless, but dangerous as well, without the key to unlock it. This key is the way of escape, the corrective to fixity, the safeguard of life and liberty. Savage instruction almost wholly neglected the key, being concerned only with habitual response to present conditions and the solving of present problems. Yet there must have been some element of variation in primitive life, else we should still be chipping stone axes and grubbing for roots. The variation came not so much from conscious teaching, as from exterior forces, war, migration,

exogamy, etc., and in later times, trade and political organization.³

Savage Education "Practical."—Savage education as habit-forming expressed itself in the twofold aim of vocational and moral fitness. Since the emphasis, especially in the beginning, lay on the vocational, and the moral contained little or no ethical element as such, but was concerned only with custom and ritualistic religion, we might say that savage education was *practical*, limited to the arts of self-maintenance. Religion, we repeat, was in aim, content, and method, almost wholly unethical, and applied to wringing a larger livelihood from the earth or the unwilling powers that controlled it, or to preventing by exorcism and propitiation unfriendly powers from cutting off the means of life, or life itself. If we say that education is the teaching of "values," then primitive man reflected in his education his notions of certain crude industrial arts and peace with the unseen powers as the things most worth while in life. Hence he placed the premium upon doing, and belief as an aid to doing, rather than upon thinking. Furthermore, his doing focused upon the satisfaction of immediate wants. Only when higher barbarism is reached do we find much attempt to control the future, though it is evident that no progress would have been possible without some discounting of the present in favor of the future. Yet speaking by and large, food, and defense from enemies either of this world or more particularly of that terribly

³ All this was education. Hence it is not altogether exact to say that savage education was "unprogressive," unless education be limited to what is termed formal instruction.

real and dangerous other-world, are primitive man's first aims in his learning, whether it be unconscious and self-acquired or the result of combined self, familial, and group instruction.

"At an age when civilised children would just be commencing to learn to read books, the savage child is busy, though he scarcely knows it himself, in learning to read nature, and in acquiring the knowledge which will enable him not only to obtain his own supply of food, but to guard himself against the attacks of enemies."⁴

From the subordination of the individual to the group, it is evident that savage education was designed, especially when it became conscious, to secure the solidarity of the group, rather than to convey a body of exact knowledge. *In general we may say, then, that primitive education aimed chiefly, whether consciously or not, at securing and developing keen perceptive powers, physical endurance, and discipline.*⁵

CONTENT

Evolution of the Curriculum.—The Curriculum of savage education, as already indicated in its Aims, includes two general groups of "subjects," vocational and moral, the latter including custom, tradition, and religion. Yet in practice the two groups are constantly associated. Tradition or taboo may rigidly prescribe

⁴ Spencer and Gillen, *N. T. of C. A.*, 37.

⁵ Cf. Spencer's essay on Education, 281-2: "... bodily vigour with its accompaniment were the desiderata; and their education was almost wholly physical; mental cultivation was little cared for," etc.; "mental cultivation for its own sake," would have been nearer the strict truth.

the technique of industry, and religion constantly breaks over into the economic régime, not only to determine the forms of industry, but even to proscribe and interrupt their normal course of operation; as, for example, where mortuary customs require the destruction of property or suspension of labor or the lying fallow of land. Among the lowest nature-peoples, where the range of ideas is narrowest, the arts few and simple, social organization the loosest, the curriculum reduces to its lowest terms. Yet even here learning is not an easy process; for under such conditions each generation must go back to the beginning, as there is no storing up of capital, of tools, or even of methods. On the contrary, the practice of destroying the property of the dead left to the survivors the difficult task of creating *ab ovo* their means of production. Only with the rise of intelligence, the settlement in a more or less permanent abode, the accumulation of property, the division of labor, the formation and transmission of tradition, and the organization of conscious education, could there be any short cut, any recapitulation in brief of racial experience. This stage once reached, the "course of studies" becomes immediately more varied and more precise. The development of trade and political organization, together with the increasing complexity of social and religious concepts, brings a corresponding extension and depth to the content of education. Ordeals, drill, initiatory rites, instruction in tribal traditions, religious beliefs, laws, and customs, begin to occupy the larger part of the curriculum, which still includes occasional definite lessons in the tribal arts of self-maintenance. But, far from being

delivered *en bloc* by some primitive educational expert, their whole system of instruction was developed out of the very heart of savagery itself by the slow zigzag method of trial and failure in the struggle for existence.

Classification of Primitive Peoples.—Several attempts have been made to classify primitive peoples according to their attitude toward education. Steinmetz makes a threefold grouping: (1) Those absolutely without training of any sort. (2) Those where education is beginning, without or almost without discipline. (3) Those where hard treatment and strict training prevail.⁶ Such a classification rests obviously on the notion of education as *formal* training closely correlated with discipline. Another writer uses consideration of the child's interests as the basis of classification, but arrives at substantially the same result: (1) Those peoples in which there is no attempt to discipline the child *for his own sake*. (2) Where the child is disciplined primarily *to make him useful to his parents*. (3) Where he is educated and provided for primarily *for his own sake*.⁷ In neither of these schemes, however, are the stages mutually exclusive; as in the case of types of marital organization, so here, the stages overlap, or may exist concurrently. Spencer's dictum⁸ that warlike peoples are strict in training their children, and peaceable peoples lax, offers us little help; for such a generalization sprang rather from his espousal of a favorite antithesis between the military and the industrial types of society than from a thorough ex-

⁶ Steinmetz, *Ztschft. f. Socialwiss.*, i., 609; id., *Ethn. Studien*, ii., 181.

⁷ Parsons, *The Family*, chap. v.

⁸ *Prin. of Ethics*, i., 376; *Prin. of Sociol.*, ii., 330-2.

amination of the facts themselves. We have been unable to arrive at any hard and fast classification that will hold good in every case. The following scheme, however, is offered as a working guide: (1) Cases where there is little or absolutely no formal instruction or discipline, where whatever is learned is "picked up" much after the animal fashion, where the economic, political, and familial organization is still loose, and where the forces of "selection" are still largely exterior and unconscious. (2) Where a developing social organization has stretched the range of interest, where a reservoir of experience begins to appear and brings with it a conscious demand for the preservation and perpetuation of this body of experience, and hence the beginnings of organized instruction. (3) Where the notion of education as a paramount selective agency holds sway. The first two classes alone pertain to our subject. It will be found that this classification applies to both the content and the organization of primitive education, and perhaps to its methods and results as well. A few typical cases will illustrate this general course of development.

"Soft Pedagogy."—First, then, come the cases in which there is neither conscious education nor formulated discipline. The Lower California Indians perfectly illustrate both points. We have already noted their resentment toward discipline. Father Baegert is no less explicit as to their neglect of learning.

"Nothing," he says, "causes the Californians less trouble and care than the education of their children, which is merely confined to a short period, and ceases as soon as

the latter are capable of making a living for themselves—that is, to catch mice and to kill snakes. If the young Californians have once acquired sufficient skill and strength to follow these pursuits, it is all the same to them whether they have parents or not. Nothing is done by these in the way of admonition or instruction, nor do they set an example worthy to be imitated by their offspring. . . . The consequence is, that the children follow their own inclinations without any restraint, and imitate all the bad habits and practices of their equals, or still older persons, without the slightest apprehension of being blamed by their fathers and mothers, even if these should happen to detect them in the act of committing the most disgraceful deeds. The young Californians who live in the missions commence roaming about as soon as the mass is over, and those that spend their time in the fields go wherever, and with whomsoever, they please, not seeing for many days the faces of their parents, who, in their turn, do not manifest the slightest concern about their children, nor make any inquiries after them.”⁹

Among the Seminoles it is said that

“the baby, well into the world, learns very quickly that he is to make his own way through it as best he may.

⁹ Baegert, *l. c.*, 369. I cannot forbear adding the Father’s comment on this system of education—an echo of eighteenth century *Kulturkampf*: “Heaven may enlighten the Californians, and preserve Europe, and especially Germany, from such a system of education, which coincides, in part, with the plan proposed by that ungodly visionary (!) J. J. Rousseau, in his *Émile*, and which is also recommended by some other modern philosophers of the same tribe. If their designs are carried out, education, so far as faith, religion, and the fear of God are concerned, is not to be commenced before the eighteenth or twentieth year, which, if viewed in the proper light, simply means to adopt the Californian method, and to bring up the youth without any education at all.”

His mother is prompt to nourish him, and solicitous in her care for him if he falls ill; but as far as possible she goes her own way and leaves the little fellow to go his."¹⁰

Similar methods prevail among the Thompson River Indians and certain tribes of Oregon.¹¹ Delaware Indian boys were "never obliged to do anything: They loiter about, live as they please, and follow their own fancies."¹² Conflicting reports come in regarding the Eskimo.¹³ Perhaps it is true that the rigors of a polar struggle for life put a premium on hardy individualism which only self-education of the strictest type can accomplish; so that after all what some observers have branded as neglect may be only a deep-laid educational scheme. But there are other cases of self-made savages where no such rational motive can be imputed. Children of the Mortlock Islanders, for example, are loved, but their education receives almost no attention; "sie wachsen auf wie sie wollen."¹⁴ Of the Brazilians von Martius says: "Erziehung findet eigentlich von Seite der Aeltern nicht statt. Der Vater duldet die Kinder, die Mutter nützt sie."¹⁵ We have been unable to find traces of education among the Fuegians.¹⁶ With the Indians of Guiana, "as soon as the children can run about they are left almost to themselves, or rather they begin to mimic their parents . . . the boys run wild."¹⁷

¹⁰ MacCauley, *Bur. Ethn.*, v., 496.

¹¹ Teit, in *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Memoirs*, ii. (1900), 177-8; Gibbs, *l. c.*, i., 198, 209; Bancroft, *N. R.*, i., 566.

¹² Loskiel, *l. c.*, 62-3; somewhat contradicted by Nelson, *Ind. of N. J.*, 42.

¹³ Ploss, ii., 340; Letourneau, *L'évol. de l'éduc.*, 226; Lippert, i., 227; Ratzel, ii., 106.

¹⁴ Kubary, in *Mittheil. d. Geogr. Gesell. zu Hamburg*, 1878-9, 261 (Steinmetz).

¹⁵ *Beiträge*, i., 124; Lippert, i., 226 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Letourneau, *l. c.*, 138.

¹⁷ Im Thurn, *l. c.*, 219.

152 Primitive Family and Education

Turning now to Africa, we find that among the Ewe negroes, for instance, there exists neither a word for education, nor any comprehension of its aims or means.¹⁸ Travelers and explorers in both the east and west of Africa are singularly silent in the matter of purposive education among the natives. A possible exception might be made in the case of the Marutse-Mabunda, a tribe south of the Zambesi River: here the boys are early taught the use of weapons; but, the observer adds, they learn mostly by themselves, both to hunt and to fish, and early build their own huts.¹⁹ In Sir Harry Johnston's monumental work on the Uganda Protectorate, the only explicit reference to native education I have encountered concerns the Nandi peoples, of whom he says, "children are trained with a certain amount of discipline, and, like the ancient Persians, are taught to draw the bow and speak the truth."²⁰ But the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijos of the Warri District in the Niger Coast Protectorate, whose "children practically do as they like," offer more nearly the African norm.²¹ Self-education by simple imitation is said to prevail among the Veddahs.²² And the Igorot youth fares no better.²³ In German Melanesia the young receive absolutely no sort of instruction; whatever they learn they pick up by casual observation; and this applies to the most fundamental arts of getting a living, as well as to minor and major morals.²⁴ In Micronesia children grow up without any sort of restraint, lack parental discipline and fear of their elders. They receive practically no instruction; "If any one wants to learn how to make or do

¹⁸ Ploss, ii., 343; Letourneau, 66, 74.

¹⁹ Ploss, ii., 342.

²⁰ *L. c.*, ii., 879.

²¹ Granville and Roth, xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 107.

²² Letourneau, 36.

²³ Jenks, 68-9.

²⁴ Pfeil, *Studien u. Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, 24-5.

anything he simply watches, imitates, and practices." In New Guinea, Ponape, the Caroline, Marshall, and Solomon Islands, almost identical conditions obtain. "Papuan children grow up with full freedom and without restraint, drilling, or bullying of any kind."²⁵ Fiji children "grow up without knowledge, without good morals or habits, without amiability or worth, fitted by the way in which they are reared to develop the worst features of heathen life."²⁶ Another list of cases might be cited where there is not only no attempt at discipline, but even deliberate encouragement to self-assertiveness and disorder. In all such instances, experience, if not the *best*, is certainly the *only* teacher.

Sparing the Rod.—A wise old German used to say that "wenn gleich ein Kind ein Engel wäre so bedürfte es doch der Ruthe." But the birch of our forefathers was sadly neglected in savagery. It is a gross error to assert that corporal punishment is a return to savagery or a survival of it. Only as we approximate civilization does the discipline of the rod cut much of a figure; it was not a barbarian, but a Greek poet who said, "the man who has not been flogged, did not get any education." At times, for example during the Middle Ages, when asceticism held sway, this symbol of control received such worship as never did Astarte in the days of her glory. But no savages were ever ascetics by choice, and in general their attitude toward children was

²⁵ Ploss, ii., 337; Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, 295; Letourneau, 46; Finsch, *Ethnol. Erfahrungen*, iii., 31, 131, 242; Elton, "Nat. of Solomon Isl.," xvii. *J. A. I.*, 94; Semon, *In the Austral. Bush*, 332; Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, 230-2; Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, 589; Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea*, 43.

²⁶ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 141-2.

marked by sentimentalism rather than by correction and guidance.

Steinmetz cites a list of thirty-two peoples among whom no parental discipline exists.²⁷ It includes the Ainos, Loyalty, Marshall, and Pelew Islanders, New Hebrideans, Dyaks, Warraus, Patagonians, Kubu, Bechuana, Ama-Xosa, Bakuba, Toba-Battaks, etc. Ploss adds the Dengas of the Upper Nile and the Farafraks of the Libyan Desert.²⁸ It is pretty generally true that but little family discipline exists among peoples whose children acquire maturity and independence at an early age. A curious little cameo illustrative of this condition has been preserved for us by an eighteenth century traveler to the Loango: "A missionary one day heard a mother giving a small commission to her son. The child was only about eight years old, but he answered gravely, "Do you think then that I am a boy?"²⁹ Wuttke notes the absolute lack of discipline amongst the Kamtchdales.³⁰ Crantz wrote of the Greenlanders over a century and a half ago, and the observation still holds good:

"The children are brought up without any discipline, or any severity of reprimand or chastisement by their parents. But indeed severe treatment of the Greenlanders' children is on the one hand not very needful, because they run about as quiet as lambs, and fall into very few extravagancies; and on the other hand it would be fruitless, because

²⁷ *Ztschft., f. Socialwiss.*, i., 610-21; *Ethnol. Stud.*, ii., 181-9; it is questionable if the Kubus enter this category.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, ii., 344; general discussion, ii., 331.

²⁹ Proyard, in Pinkerton, xvi., 571.

³⁰ *Gesch. des Heid.*, i., 187.

if a Greenlander cannot be influenced to do a thing by gentle entreaty, or by rational arguments, he will sooner be killed than compelled to it. Whether this is the effect of a natural self-will in their complexion, or whether it proceeds from the long habit of unrestrained education, I am not able to determine."³¹

Of the Australians it is said:

"As a rule, he [the child] has his own way from morning till night, and becomes the most self-willed little imp under the sun. Correction is rarely thought of; but should the parental temper on any occasion be ruffled, it generally results in a severe blow with the back of the tomahawk on the head of the child."³²

Among the Dieri, children are never chastised; if a mother broke this rule she would be soundly whipped by her husband.³³ To Morton Bay (Queensland) natives the idea of chastising a child or not giving in to his wildest whim is terrible.³⁴ "The natives of Cooper's Creek (Victoria) do not punish their children for committing theft, but the father or mother has to fight with the person from whom the property was stolen; upon no occasion are the children beaten."³⁵

The Maoris "idolize children and spoil them dreadfully."³⁶ Spix and Martius found that among the tribes of the upper Amazon the children knew no obedience and never received correction except as an expression of

³¹ *L. c.*, i., 162.

³² Curr, *The Australian Race*, i., 71.

³³ Gason, in Curr, *l. c.*, ii., 46, 53. ³⁴ J. D. Lang, *Queensland*, 337.

³⁵ Smyth, *Aborig. of Victoria*, i., 129; Ploss, ii., 334-5; Curr, *l. c.*, ii., 53.

³⁶ Tregear, xix. *J. A. I.*, 99.

156 Primitive Family and Education

mighty anger (*heftigen Zornes*).³⁷ Speaking of the Macusis of Rio Branco, von Martius writes: "Strafen und Zuchtigung kennt der Indianer nicht."³⁸ The Kaingang Indians south of Brazil never scold or flog their children who "in consequence are very impudent and disobedient." The Warraus are averse to any sort of corporal discipline, and suffer the most grievous faults to go uncorrected.³⁹ Great extremes of opinion and practice in the matter of discipline occur among the North American Indians. The Delawares, Apaches, and others avoided punishing their children for fear of possible subsequent revenge. The Ricaras "never whipped even children from their birth."⁴⁰ The Dakotas and Chippeways punished their girls but not the boys, in deference probably to the common notion that the boy's spirit must not be broken, but that the female must be kept "meek and lowly of heart." Powers writes of the Pomos:

"Men who have lived familiarly among these Indians for years say that they have never yet seen an Indian parent chastise his offspring, or correct them any otherwise than with berating words in a frenzy of passion, which is also extremely seldom."⁴¹

The same might be said of the Ahts, Tuscaroras and Zúñis.⁴²

Lack of proper training and discipline prevails pretty

³⁷ *Brasilien*, 1226.

³⁸ *Beiträge*, i., 644; cf. Rivet, on the Jibaros, in *L'Anthropologie*, xviii., 605-6.

³⁹ Ambrosetti, 74 *Globus*, 245; Schomburgk, *Britisch Guiana*, i., 167.

⁴⁰ Lewis and Clarke, *Travels*, i., 148.

⁴¹ Loskiel, 61-2; Powers, *Cal. Ind.*, in vol. iii., *Contr. N. A. Ethnol.*, 153, 222.

⁴² Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, 160; Lawson, *H. of N. C.*, 326; Cushing, *Primitive Motherhood*, 37.

widely throughout all the East Indies and the islands of the Pacific.

"The Sea Dyaks, as I have observed, generally prefer male children; and the more mischievous and boisterous they are when young the greater the delight they afford their parents. The observation, 'He is very wicked,' is the greatest praise. They indulge them in everything, and at home give way to their caprices in an extraordinary manner."⁴³

Another writer adds of them, "there is but little authority and discipline in matters which are beyond the ordinary routine of daily life" (referring especially to matters of education).⁴⁴ In New Guinea punishment is extremely rare and occurs only when parents are in a temper.⁴⁵ "Andamanese children are reprov'd for being impudent and forward, but this discipline is not enforced by corporal punishment."⁴⁶ Fritsch calls Samoan children "tyrants," whose parents make no attempt to resist.⁴⁷ But Robert Louis Stevenson gives by all odds the liveliest account I have met of the infant despotism of the South Seas. Writing particularly of the Marquesas he says:

"For no people in the world are so fond or so long-suffering with children—children make the mirth and the adornment of their homes, serving them for playthings and for picture galleries. 'Happy is the man that has his quiver full of them.' The stray bastard is contended for by

⁴³ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i., 48-9; cf. *J. A. I.*, xxi., 20.

⁴⁴ Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, i., 103.

⁴⁵ Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, 390.

⁴⁶ Man, xii. *J. A. I.*, 93.

⁴⁷ *Samoafahrten*, 321.

rival families, and the natural and the adopted children play and grow up together undistinguished. The spoiling, and I may almost say the deification, of the child, is nowhere carried so far as in the eastern islands; and furthest, according to my opportunities of observation, in the Paumotu group, the so-called Low or Dangerous Archipelago. . . . It is a daily matter in some eastern islands to see a child strike and even stone its mother, and the mother, so far from punishing, scarce ventures to resist. In some, when his child was born, a chief was superseded and resigned his name; as though, like a drone, he had fulfilled the occasion of his being. And in some the lightest words of children had the weight of oracles. Only the other day, in the Marquesas, if a child conceived a distaste to any stranger, I am assured the stranger would be slain. And I shall have to tell in another place an instance of the opposite: how a child in Manihiki, having taken a fancy to myself, her adoptive parents at once accepted the situation and loaded me with gifts.”⁴⁸

According to Ellis, in Polynesia the father usually exercises no control over his child; still less the mother; the child is not supposed to obey her and is often even encouraged to insult her (probably as a proof of stalwart manhood!). In German Melanesia, children are said to be “very badly spoiled.” In the Fiji islands there is no kind of direct training or discipline; parents punish only when they themselves are enraged, and even then the children resist. In the Gilbert Islands, “Eltern lassen sich von ihren Sprösslingen Alles gefallen.”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *In the South Seas*, 38.

⁴⁹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 261; Ploss, ii., 336; Pfeil, *Studien u. Beobachtungen*, 19; Finsch, *Ethnol. Erfahr.*, iii., 31; Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 130, 141-2; Abel, *Savag. Life in New Guinea*, 43.

Unformulated Group Discipline.—It must not be supposed that if savage children failed to receive correction it was because they never needed it. On the contrary, the savage child needed trimming and pruning no less than our modern young hopeful; and what is more to the point, he got it, though not exactly through well formulated means. But in all ages "youth and crabbed age" have been judged by their peers and had their rough edges taken off by that subtle process of attrition which is the first requisite to association. So that when we say no discipline exists among a given people, we mean merely that there is no formulated discipline, institutionalized, as it were, and located in the hands of parent, schoolmaster, etc. Among the Seri Indians, for example, there is no formal discipline, but this informal rubbing down goes on just the same.

"The boys are at once the most restless and the most lawless members of the tribe—indeed, the striplings seem often to ignore the maternal injunctions and even to evade the rarely uttered avuncular orders, so that their movements are practically free, except in so far as they are themselves regimented and graded by strength and fleetness or success in hunting."⁵⁰

Aggressiveness Fostered.—Another word might be added regarding the deliberate cultivation of youthful aggressiveness. Lewis and Clarke state that among the Shoshones, a warlike Indian tribe, the children were seldom corrected;

"the boys, particularly, soon become their own masters; they are never whipped, for they say that it breaks their

⁵⁰ McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Bur. Ethn.*, xvii., part i., 271.

spirit, and that after being flogged, they never recover their independence of mind, even when they grow to manhood."⁵¹

A recent writer on the Indians lays down a generalization which is substantially accurate.

"In contrast to Pueblo ideas of parental authority, it is worthy of notice that, in many parts of aboriginal America, obedience has not been considered an essentially commendable characteristic of social life. Among some of the wilder tribes, a rebellious, quarrelsome disposition on the part of the sons has been encouraged rather than opposed. Chastisement for obstinacy has been considered detrimental to the growth of courage, and hence obstructive in the making of a warrior. With many savages, quarrels are of almost daily occurrence, and brawls among the youths are constantly going on."⁵²

Magic as Discipline.—But another reason is sometimes assigned by lower peoples for not resorting to physical applications for moral delinquency, viz., that magic and other means are a better curative. Mr. Kidd gives a curious example of such notions; we reserve our judgment as to their efficacy.

"When a Kafir boy has stolen pumpkins or sweet cane from another person's gardens, the owner may beat the boy if he can catch him, just to relieve the feelings (!). But he does not stop there. As a Kafir said to me, 'We black men do not look at these things as the white men do;

⁵¹ *Travels*, ii., 164. Similarly, Smith, *The Araucanians*, 200-1; Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane, Les Mœurs des Sauvages*, 51.

⁵² Fynn, *The American Indian as a Product of Environment*, 148-9. This statement is somewhat disturbing to Mr. Spencer's dictum on the education of warlike peoples!

they are content to punish the thief: we try to cure him.' I pointed out that the latter sentiment was most admirable, and asked him how the natives cured a young thief. The man said that this could easily be done if only the name of the boy were known. The Kafir takes a large pot made of earthenware and fills it with water, which is made to boil over a fire; medicines are then thrown into the boiling water. As the pot of water is boiling furiously the people uncover it and shout out the name of the boy at the boiling medicine, repeating the name many times. When they feel sure that the boy's name has well penetrated into the water, they cover up the pot and place it on one side for several days; at the end of that period the boy, who is utterly ignorant of the liberties taken with his name, is said to be cured of the habit of thieving. A number of wizard-charms are practised in a similar way, the name of the person to be injured being regarded fully as valuable for the working of the charm as the body of the person would be."⁵³

However admirable the motive in this particular instance, it illustrates, as do all the other cases cited, the absence of a rational, consistent notion of training and discipline; and that correction, if not utterly lacking, was usually merely the motor expression of an outburst of passion.

Family Sometimes Hinders Social Discipline.—We have already suggested that normal life in society brings with it inevitably discipline in some form, and by some means or other. We are now in a position to assert definitely that in savagery very frequently the family not only did not supply training and discipline fitting for societal life, but furthermore was often a distinct hindrance to peace and good order. "Many

⁵³ *Savage Childhood*, 73.

defects in savage life may be traced to the want of parental restraint in the plastic days of childhood.”⁵⁴ Matthew Arnold in a speech at Eton once quoted a striking passage in the life of Epictetus which with trifling changes might well fit many a group of savage elders, and perhaps almost any modern college Committee on Discipline. Said he:

“The philosopher Epictetus, who had a school at Nicopolis in Epirus at the end of the first century of our era, thus apostrophises a young gentleman whom he supposes to be applying to him for education:—‘Young sir, at home you have been at fisticuffs with the man-servant, you have been a nuisance to the neighbors; and do you come here with the composed face of a sage, and mean to sit in judgment upon the lesson, and to criticise my want of point? You have come in here with envy and chagrin in your heart, humiliated at not getting your allowance paid you from home; and you sit with your mind full, in the intervals of the lecture, of how your father behaves to you, and how your brother. What are the people at home saying about me?—They are thinking: Now he is getting on! They are saying: He will come home a walking dictionary!—Yes, and I should like to go home a walking dictionary; but then there is a deal of work required, and nobody sends me anything, and the bathing here at Nicopolis is dirty and nasty; things are all bad at home and all bad here.”⁵⁵

In such a case other social agencies are burdened with the task of undoing the results of bad training or no

⁵⁴ Sutherland, *l. c.*, i., 119.

⁵⁵ *Mixed Essays and Irish Essays*, 409. Tacitus in his *Dialogue on Oratory* is equally severe with the Roman youth of his day.

training. Ignorance of the nature of parenthood, sentimentalism, and marital difficulties combine with sex prejudices to rob the child of a very vital part of his education. The *reductio ad absurdum* of such a situation occurs in New Guinea and Fiji, where the father deliberately teaches and encourages the child to beat its mother, and to revenge injuries done to their friends.⁵⁶ And it is to be feared that there are many Fijian parents throughout the world!

Beginnings of Conscious Education.—Into the second group, according to the classification we have adopted, fall those peoples who, while recognizing to a certain degree the value of education to the individual and to the group, do not perceive its full significance; whose educational technique is obviously limited and uneven; or who fail properly to balance instruction and discipline. In a certain sense, modern civilized nations, almost without exception, might well be included within this group; it is merely a question of more or less. But here we are concerned rather with the “less,” and the limits of the group will be easily enough described if we place at one end, say the Australians, where the education of the youth really begins only at his initiation; and at the other, the Russians of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, where to break a child’s ribs with the stick of correction was considered of vastly more educative value than any attempt to cultivate his mind.

Vocational Training.—First in importance comes vocational training. It is here that familial instruction appears at its best, for most of the savage arts of self-

⁵⁶ Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, 390; Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 130–1, 139; Ratzel (Germ. ed.), ii., 276; Rivet, *L’Anthropologie*, xviii., 605–6.

maintenance are domestic, and not sufficiently differentiated to require skilled teaching. The father usually assumed the duty of introducing his son into the manly arts and carried him along on fishing or hunting expeditions, the first years of infancy past. To the mother naturally fell the business of acquainting her daughter with whatever details of housewifery or agriculture her own life compassed.⁵⁷ Such instruction had the advantage of being actually in the art itself or in miniature playful imitations of the art. To prepare himself for shooting reindeer, the Eskimo lad is given a tiny bow and arrows, and a little reindeer foetus set up for him to aim at. The Dakota girl had her little work-bag with its awl and sinew, and learned to make diminutive moccasins as her mother made large ones. Education in these simple arts is comparatively easy, for the problems are vivid, specific, and directly anticipatory to real life, with the further advantage that they admit of constant repetition and drill. To the savage child the technical processes of his elders, warfare, the chase, the medicine dance, agriculture, and hearthside industries, were vastly more accessible than are our own more highly complex systems of industry. To be sure, our modern boy may still mimic in play certain social functions; he may whip off the tops of weed enemies, or metamorphose himself into a battleship, turn a flip, or execute a buck and wing dance. Yet these plays can hardly be called definite anticipations of his future life. The contrast is all the more striking if we turn to his industrial games. What sort of play, or what sort of

⁵⁷ The Andamanese furnish an excellent example; see Man, xii. J. A. I., 329; cf. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i., 71.

work in miniature will prepare him to build a modern steam-heated house, steer an armored cruiser, weave a blanket, carve a gunstock, or prepare the mold for a steel casting? Modern industry has grown remote from childhood, and is only accessible by a careful formal educational introduction. The industrial revolution brings with it an inevitable demand for intensive education. However it may have bred a generation of laissez-faireists in political economy, it cannot tolerate them in education and life. But primitive societies faced no such complexities. In a community of fishermen practically all were fishers; among herdsmen all were herders; and the son, if his father did not teach him the art, learned in spite of himself from his fellows in the group.

It is not unfair to say that the beginnings of savage education closely resemble the apprentice system, and that the employments of the family and of the group as a whole are static and hereditary. That Chinese cobbler who carried a sign on his back reading, "I have been a cobbler for 400 years," summarized primitive vocational education. It will suffice to enumerate the chief savage occupations figuring on their "course of studies." Hunting, fishing, canoeing, sledding, trapping, and crude building predominate. Warlike peoples specialize with the spear or bow. In agricultural communities the hoe and the yam stick, amongst herders the care of cattle, are the chief solitudes. It is almost universally true that the domestic education of girls precedes that of boys. In many tribes where little home training is bestowed upon the boys, their sisters early become miniature housewives. And where both sexes are

formally taught, the girls usually come first. Furthermore, domestic education has nearly always played a much larger part in the girl's life.

Physical Training.—Perhaps only secondary to purely vocational instruction comes physical training in the primitive curriculum. It ranges from the Pentathlon of the Greeks to practices rivaling the Samurai-code of mediæval Japan. Many savage children have astonished European travelers by their precocity in swimming. The Polynesians and Sea Dyaks, for example, swim almost before they can walk. Nimbleness of limb and endurance are the commonest ideals.

"The Apache boy had for pedagogue his father and grandfather, who began early to teach him counting, to run on level ground, then up and down hill, to break branches from trees, to jump into cold water, and to race, the whole training tending to make him skilful, strong, and fearless."⁵⁸

Some of the StsEélis Indians of British Columbia still pine for the good old times when strict training made their people prosperous and vigorous. In those days,

"parents made their children go out and bathe in the river every night and morning the whole year round as soon as they could walk alone. They would first whip their naked bodies with small branches to make the skin tingle and burn. Some people used to put these whips in the flames of the house-fire for a little while. A whip thus treated when applied to a boy's back would save him from becoming idle and lazy. Whipped daily with such an instrument he would become an active and energetic man, and be able to acquire much wealth. When they

⁵⁸ O. T. Mason, *Bur. Ethn. Bulletin* 30 ("H. B. of Am. Ind."), 30.

reached puberty they would constantly make use of the 'KaitiōstEl,' or sweat house, lance their bodies and limbs with knives, 'to let the bad blood out and make them strong,' and force long rods down their gullets into their stomachs to make themselves vomit. Often they would lie out all night and expose their bodies to the elements till they became so hardy that they could scarcely feel the cold at all, and could stay for hours without discomfort in the chilling waters of the river or lake."⁵⁹

Amongst the Guanaches,

"means were devised to develop the physical constitution of the young, to give strength to their limbs and dexterity to their motions; to rouse up their martial spirit and excite them to emulation and deeds of daring. To accomplish this desirable end the young were encouraged to challenge each other to single combat, and on great festivals and other public rejoicings a spirited contest for superiority was exhibited in the presence of numerous spectators, which with the exercise of leaping, running, and throwing of disks, tested the prowess, the power of endurance, and the skilful use of weapons of the rival champions. Even as young children they were practised in the art of dodging and swaying the body to and fro with agility, so as to enable them to avoid the missile that might be aimed at them. At first soft clay balls were thrown, for which, as soon as they succeeded in avoiding these, nuts were substituted; the exercise was continued with small pebbles, which was followed by blunted darts, and at last sharp-pointed javelins were used."⁶⁰

⁵⁹ C. Hill Tout, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 316.

⁶⁰ Featherman, *l. c.*, 5th div., 337; no responsibility is assumed for the viscous English of this citation!

168 Primitive Family and Education

The Bedouin method of "hardening" is typical. The boy is

"accustomed from his earliest youth to the fatigues and dangers of a pastoral life, and his constitution is steeled to endurance, hardships, and privations. Fathers desire to see their sons possessed, at an early age, of a manly spirit of independence and of a prudent assurance of self-confidence."⁶¹

The Caraib youth received a peculiarly brutal training.

"In the Antilles the father invited his most intimate friends, and on admonishing his son to be valiant in the fight and take vengeance on his enemies, he killed a bird of prey called *ouashi*, by striking it against the forehead of his son, who was made to devour the heart, that by this act of barbarism he would be steeled to commit the more barbarous deed of devouring the heart of the enemies of his nation."⁶²

The Fiji Islanders accustom their children early to regard the murder of a man as slight and commonplace.

"One of the first lessons taught the infant is to strike its mother, a neglect of which would beget a fear lest the child should grow up to be a coward. Thus these people are nurtured 'without natural affection,' and trained to be implacable, unmerciful.' Several proofs of this, I have witnessed at Somosomo; mothers leading their children to kick and tread upon the dead bodies of enemies."⁶³

I have reserved the training of the boy Head-Hunter

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 370.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3d. div., 270.

⁶³ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 139.

as a last striking case. Mr. W. H. Furness in his remarkable book on the "Home Life of the Borneo Head-Hunters" describes his attempts to get at the psychology of head-hunting. He found it to be thoroughly pragmatic, no mere excrescence of barbarity, but a practice entirely integrated with the Head-Hunters' thought and conduct of life. Hence, as was to be expected, no less thorough and concrete was the training for this "highest aim in life."

"‘Don't you feel sorry,’ I asked, ‘for those you kill? It hurts badly to be cut by a parang; you don't like it, and those whom you cut down dislike it as much as you do; they are no more anxious to go to Apo Leggan or Long Julán [Regions in the Beyond] than you are.’ ‘Ah, Tuan,’ he replied, with a suggestion of a patronizing chuckle in his voice, ‘you feel just as I did when I was a little boy and had never seen blood. But I outgrew such feelings, as every one should. My father, a very great warrior, and known and feared by the people of many, many rivers, wanted his sons to be as brave and fearless as he was himself. So one day he dragged out into the jungle old Bállo Lahíng [widow of Lahing], and tied her fast to a tree by rattans on her wrists and ankles. She was a slave-woman, captured, when she was a young girl, by his grandfather over in the Batang Kayan country, and, at the time I speak of, she was very old, and weak, and very thin, and couldn't do any work because she was nearly blind. My father told my brother yonder and me, and one or two other boys, all of us little fellows then (I remember, my ears were still sore from having these holes for tiger-cat's teeth cut in them) well,—he told us we must go out with spears and learn to stick them in something alive, and not to be afraid to see blood, nor to hear screams,—

then I felt just as you do. Besides, I was really very fond of old Bállo Lahíng; she it was who tied on my first chawat [waist-cloth] for me, I remembered it well, for she laughed a great deal at me, and then I saw how few teeth she had, and she often used to sing me to sleep with that song about "Tama Poyong with a twisted leg." I couldn't bear the thought of hurting her, and sending her away off to Long Julán, so I flatly refused to take a spear with me. But my father said I must; there was no harm in it; that it was right, and I must take one; he pulled me by the arm and I had to follow. Then I was afraid she might see me, so I sneaked round behind the tree and just pricked her with the point of iron, then she guessed what my father had tied her there for, and screamed as loud as she could, "Oh, don't! Oh, don't! Oh, don't!" over and over again and very fast; I pricked her a little harder next time to see what she would say, but she only kept on shrieking the same words. Then one of the other boys, smaller even than I, ran his spear right through her thigh, like this, and the old people laughed and said that was good; and the blood ran down all over the wrinkles on her knees; and then I wanted to make it run—just in the same way, so I pushed and pushed my spear hard into her; and after that I never thought whether it was Bállo Lahíng or not, I just watched the blood; and we all ran round her, piercing her here and piercing there until she sank right down on the ground with her hands in the rattan loops above her head, which tumbled over to one side, and no more blood came out of her. Then my father praised us all loudly, and me in particular, and said we had been good boys and had done well! How could I feel at all sorry then for the old thing? I thought only that I had obeyed my father and that I was a great warrior and could wear horn-bill's feathers, and tiger-cat's teeth. That's the way to become a man; a baby is afraid of blood, Tuan. My father was

right. No man can be brave who doesn't love to see his spear draw blood.'"⁶⁴

Here is a consummate example in proof of the theory that traits of character lie rather in social than physical heredity. It is also an apt denial of the notion that "ferocity" is an innate instinct. It affirms with savage distinctness the power of education over nature.

Moral Education.—Primitive industrial education, as we have seen, was largely domestic, but not altogether so; and both the family and the group shared in physical training. But in moral instruction the rôle of the group seems to overshadow that of the family. This is not surprising if, as we believe, the *mores* are a group product. We have already pointed out that even among peoples supposedly without any sort of formal education there always went on a more or less unconscious process of regimenting, springing out of the very nature of association itself. But among peoples of higher culture status, moral instruction takes on a more definite and deliberate character. To be sure, such moral instruction is largely unethicial, and consists rather in the *What*, the content of the social code, and only rarely the *Why*. Unreasoned acquiescence is the most becoming attitude in the savage disciple. If it ever occurs to the learner to question, more *What* is invented to explain the difficulty. This is why custom persists and why from time to time new myths must be invented to explain age-old practices. Hence the importance of tradition and folklore in

⁶⁴ Pp. 62-3; for a parallel case, see Capt. Lewin's account of the training of a Lhoosai, in his *Wild Races of S. E. India*, 268-9.

primitive life. Count Okuma is inclined to refer the very beginnings of conscious education in old Japan to the poems, songs, and legends incident to the ancestor cult.⁶⁵ It is undeniable that family ancestor worship was an exceedingly important factor in moral discipline.⁶⁶ But it was insufficient, nay, even deleterious; for vigorous group life requires a broader, more flexible moral content. When social differentiation has gone far enough to permit the emergence of a definitely organized priesthood, a considerable share of distinctively moral teaching falls to it. But long before the constitution of ecclesiasticism, the priest or medicine man coöperates with the tribal elders in the inculcating and perpetuation of tribal lore and custom (in which we include the whole vast system of ghostism and dæmonology, the whole theory and practice of keeping peace with "the unseen powers"). Indeed, this is the typical moral engine in savagery.

It will be impossible within the limits of this study to present more than a very few illustrations of this division of labor in primitive moral education. A very excellent example of domestic training, especially in the minor morals, occurs in Grinnell's description of the Blackfeet Indians.

"If a number of boys were in a lodge where older people were sitting, very likely the young people would be talking and laughing about their own concerns, and making so much noise that the elders could say nothing. If this continued

⁶⁵ *Fifty Years of New Japan*, ii., 113.

⁶⁶ Cf. Wake, *Kinship and Marriage*, 230; Steinmetz, *Ztschft. f. Socialwiss.*, i., 629; Tylor, *P. C.*, ii., 115 ff.

too long, one of the older men would be likely to get up and go out and get a long stick and bring it in with him. When he had seated himself, he would hold it up so that the children could see it and would repeat a cautionary formula, 'I will give you gum!' This was a warning to them to make less noise, and was always heeded—for a time. After a little, however, the boys might forget and begin to chatter again, and presently the man, without further warning, would reach over and rap one of them on the head with the stick, when quiet would again be had for a time. In the same way, in winter, when the lodge was full of old and young people, and through lack of attention the fire died down, some older person would call out, 'Look out for the skunk!' which would be a warning to the boys to put some sticks on the fire. If this was not done at once, the man who called out might throw a stick of wood across the lodge into the group of children, hitting and hurting one or more of them. It was taught also that, if, when young and old were in the lodge and the fire had burned low, an older person were to lay the unburned ends of the sticks upon the fire, all the children in the lodge would have the scab or itch. So, at the call, 'Look out for the scab!' some child would always jump to the fire, and lay up the sticks. There were various ways of teaching and training the children. Men would make long speeches to groups of boys, playing in the camps, telling them what they ought to do to be successful in life. They would point out to them that to accomplish anything they must be brave and untiring in war; that long life was not desirable; that the old people always had a hard time, were given the worst side of the lodge and generally neglected; that when the camp was moved they suffered from cold; that their sight was dim, so that they could not see far; that their teeth were gone, so that they could not chew their food. Only discomfort and misery await the old. Much better,

while the body is strong and in its prime, while the sight is clear, the teeth sound, and the hair still black and long, to die in battle fighting bravely. The example of successful warriors would be held up to them, and the boys urged to emulate their brave deeds. To such advice some boys would listen, while others would not heed it. The girls also were instructed. All Indians like to see women more or less sober and serious-minded, not giggling all the time, not silly. A Blackfoot man who had two or three girls would, as they grew large, often talk to them and give them good advice. After watching them, and taking the measure of their characters, he would one day get a buffalo's front foot and ornament it fantastically with feathers. When the time came, he would call one of his daughters and say to her: 'Now I wish you to stand here in front of me and look me straight in the eye without laughing. No matter what I may do, do not laugh.' Then he would sing a funny song, shaking the foot in the girl's face in time to the song, and looking her steadily in the eye. Very likely before he had finished, she would begin to giggle. If she did this, her father would stop singing and tell her to finish her laughing; and when she was serious again, he would again warn her not to laugh, and then would repeat his song. This time perhaps she would not laugh while he was singing. He would go through with this same performance before all his daughters. To such as seemed to have the steadiest characters, he would give good advice. He would talk to each girl of the duties of a woman's life and warn her against the dangers which she might expect to meet. At the time of the Medicine Lodge, he would take her to the lodge and point out to her the Medicine Lodge woman. He would say: 'There is a good woman. She has built this Medicine Lodge, and is greatly honored and respected by all the people. Once she was a girl just like you; and you, if you are good

and live a pure life, may some day be as great as she is now. Remember this, and try to live a worthy life.'"⁶⁷

I have given this long verbatim citation because it reveals the domestic side of primitive moral education at its highest; it shows also its numerous naïve methods. Yet even in this example the father and mother are by no means the sole actors; the elders, the camp orator, and the Medicine Woman share equally the honors of instruction. Among the Pueblos, a highly domestic people, where the fireside virtues were ceaselessly inculcated, the priest and the confraternity likewise assumed the rôle of instructors. Similarly in ancient Mexico, where at the age of seven or thereabouts the children were turned over to priestly care.

Specific Group-Interest in Moral Education.—Vastly more important than domestic moral training seem to have been the puberty rites and initiatory ceremonies widely practiced among primitive peoples. Whether conducted by tribal elders or under the auspices of some secret society, these rites comprised not only a considerable amount of industrial technique, but nearly all of what we should call training for citizenship. The secret society was a school for social solidarity as well as a sort of tribal guild of arts and crafts. These points are well brought out by Professor Haddon in an observation on the natives of Mer, an island in the Torres Straits. The lads, he says, "were instructed in all that related to their daily life, in the most ap

⁶⁷ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 188-91; for further examples of such moral training as that of the Blackfeet, see Eastman, *Ind. Boyhood* 58-9; Featherman, i., 622; v., 201, 337; Spencer, *Educ. of the Pueblo Child*, 79, etc.

proved methods of fishing, fighting, or house-building, and in all the duties which are classed as man's work, in addition to rules of conduct, the customs of the tribe, and the traditions of the elders."⁶⁸ The same writer found the initiation ceremonies at Tud

"very good discipline. The self-restraint acquired during the period of complete isolation was of great value, and being cut off from all the interests of the outer world, the lads had an opportunity for quiet meditation, which must have tended to mature their minds, especially as they were at the same time instructed in a good code of morals. It is not easy to conceive of a more effectual means for a rapid training."⁶⁹

The training was furthermore exceedingly definite and concrete; it inculcated honesty, generosity, filial respect, and the putting away of childish things.⁷⁰ This citation will suffice for the present to show that *the primitive group as a whole was concerned with the subject of morals in its curriculum*. We shall try to take up more in detail the services of the secret society under the subsequent topics, Methods and Organization.

Tradition.—We have already had occasion to note the importance of tradition in primitive education, and this element will continue to crop out wherever we turn in our study of savagery. This is one of the most fascinating and suggestive phases of primitive life, but we shall have to confine ourselves to a single illustration of what the nature of savage tradition is and how it works. I have chosen a savage custom as

⁶⁸ *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, vi., 146.

⁶⁹ *J. A. I.*, xix., 359-60.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 408-13.

remote as possible from our own notions and feelings, namely, Head-Hunting, which with its accompanying myth will show how tradition can make anything right and seemly. Once more we are indebted to Mr. Furness. For a time he was the guest of Aban Avit, a head-hunting chief in the heart of the Bornean jungle. He had the greatest difficulty in reconciling the benignant and hospitable character of his host with the cluster of human heads hanging just above him. By tactful questioning he gets an "explanation" of the horrible custom. Aban Avit tells the legend of a punitive expedition against a band of thieves, in the course of which a frog advises the warriors to cut off the heads of their robber enemies. The thieves are attacked and routed.

" 'Many were killed that day, and the heads of three were cut off and carried away by Tokong's party, who retreated at once, and, almost before they knew it, were at the landing-place on the river. To their great amazement, they found their boats all ready and launched! No sooner were they seated than the boats began to move off, of their own accord, right up-stream in the direction of home. It was a miracle! The current of the stream changed and ran up hill, as it does at flood-tide at the mouth of a river. They almost immediately reached the landing-place close to their house, and were overjoyed to see that the crops planted only fifteen days before had not only sprouted, but had grown, had ripened, and were almost ready for the harvest. In great astonishment they hurried through the clearings, and up to their house. There, they found still greater wonders! those who were ill when the party set out were now well, the lame walked and the blind saw! Rajah

Tokong and all his people were convinced on the spot that it was because they had followed Kop's advice and they vowed a vow that ever afterward the heads of their enemies should be cut off and hung up in their houses. This is the story of Rajah Tokong, Tuan. We all follow his good example. These heads above us have brought me all the blessings I have ever had; I would not have them taken from my home for all the silver in the country.' He turned to appeal to his people sitting near, and they, as many as understood Malay, nodded their heads, glancing from him to us, and murmuring, 'Betul, betul!' ('Tis true, 'tis true).''⁷¹

No better illustration could be found in all ethnographical literature for the educational significance of tradition and folklore. *These oral traditions and the "customs that are written within the book," as the Besesi bathing song has it,*⁷² *form the social matrix and make up by far the larger part of that social heredity which is the very stuff of informal education, and the basis of formal pedagogy.*

Other Elements in Primitive Curriculum.—It remains only to mention briefly a few other elements in the savage course of study. Language required considerable attention.⁷³ Games, mimetic plays, and dancing had vast significance both as subject and method. Certain tribes, notably the Iroquois, gave particular attention to training for political life.⁷⁴ The Cherokees had a regular school for magicians.⁷⁵ Nature

⁷¹ Furness, *l. c.*, 58-61.

⁷² Skeat and Blagden, *l. c.*, 669-70.

⁷³ Mooney, article "Child Life," in *Bur. Ethn. Bulletin* 30 (*Handbook of Am. Ind.*)

⁷⁴ Loskiel, 139.

⁷⁵ MM. Hubert and Mauss, *Année Sociol.*, vii., 141.

lore is handed down through legends and traditions both gay and sober by the Indians of the Southwest. Especially the rabbit, coyote, bear, antelope, mouse, rattlesnake, magpie, woodpecker, eagle, horned-toad and their kindred form the heroes of these tales. . Such primitive "nature study" was of course closely connected with totemism in some form or other, but at the same time furnished a real literature of wit, wisdom, and morals. The art of story-telling was often highly cultivated. Some Indian tribes had special *raconteurs*, who regaled their little audiences around the family hearth or in the men's house. Among the Yukis there were men who dressed and acted like women, and "devoted themselves to the instruction of the young by the narration of legends and moral tales."⁷⁶ The Chippeways had regular bards. With the Pueblos the old men are the story-tellers and cast their tales in a sort of blank verse.⁷⁷ Similar story-telling by shamans and elders exists in the Andaman Islands.⁷⁸ It is unnecessary to go into enumerative details, for the fiction habit is universal, and scarce a tribe but has its Homer or its Celtic Bard. With us fiction is light weight in matter and function; but not so in savagery; there it not only serves to while the passing hour, but also becomes a tremendously effective pedagogic aid.

"In the long winter evenings, while the fire burns brightly in the centre of the lodge, and the men are gathered in to smoke, he [the boy] hears the folk-lore and legends of his people from the lips of the older men. He learns to sing

⁷⁶ Chamberlain, *The Child and Childhood in Folkthought*, 205.

⁷⁷ Lummis, *The Man Who Married the Moon*. 5.

⁷⁸ Chamberlain, *l. c.*, 205.

the love-songs and the war-songs of the generations gone by. There is no new path for him to tread, but he follows in the old ways. He becomes a Dakota of the Dakota."⁷⁹

It ought by this time to be pretty evident that in the making of a "Dakota of the Dakota," whether through language teaching, or training in politics, or dancing, or poetry, or song, or folklore, or religion, or custom, the community assumed a large, if not indeed the preponderant share of instruction.

⁷⁹ Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, etc., vol. ix., *Contrib. to Amer. Ethnol.*, pp. 209 ff. For further details on the primitive curriculum, especially in its domestic aspect, see: Bancroft, *N. R.*, i., 514, 549, 704, 773; ii., 246; Prince Roland Bonaparte, *Les Habitants de Surinam*, 137; Chamberlain, *The Child and Childhood in Folkthought*, 163, 197, 236; Davidson, *Hist. of Educ.*, 21-3; Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," in *Bur. Ethnol.*, iii., 265-6; Eastman, *Ind. Boyh.*, 51, 52, 94; Ellis, *Ewe-Speaking People*, 263; Featherman, i., 128, 469, 488, 567, 580, 599, 622; iii., 419, 493; v., 94, 193; Frobenius, *Die Masken u. Geheimbünde Afrikas*, 118, 121-2; Fynn, *The Amer. Ind.*, 135; Grinnell, *B. L. T.*, 184-5; Hardy and Elington, *The Savage South Seas*, 34; Henderson, *Text-Book in Prin. of Educ.*, sec. 13; im Thurn, *Am. the Ind. of Guiana*, 219, 227-8; *Jour. of Am. Folk Lore*, iv., 238; Letourneau, *L'évol. de l'éduc.*, 52-3, 118, 122, 133, 165; Loskiel, 62; Man, xii. *J. A. I.*, 47; Mason, in *Handbook of Am. Ind.*, 414-5; id., *Woman's Share in Prim. Cult.*, 202, 206, 208, 209; Murdoch, in *Bur. Ethnol.*, ix., 380, 383, 417; Nelson, *Ind. of N. J.*, 42, 44; Parsons, *The Family*, 91; Ploss, i., 6; ii., 323, 338, 347; *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, xxii., 110; Pratt, *Two Years Am. New Guinea Cannibals*, 330; Ratzel, i., 122, 365; ii., 106, 275, 291, 332, 436, 544; iii., 123; Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, etc., 210; Schmidt, *La Société civile dans le monde Romaine*, 63; Schoolcraft, *Hist. and Statist. Inf. Concern. the Hist., Cond., and Prospects of the Ind. Tr. of U. S.*, ii., 50; Short, *The North Amer. of Antiquity*, 432-3; F. C. Spencer, *Educ. of the Pueblo Child*, 11, 76, 77, 88-91; Spencer and Gillen, *N. T. of C. A.*, 24, 27, 36-7; Sutherland *op. cit.*, i., 127; Swift, *Mind in the Making*, 62; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Tales*, 220.

CHAPTER VII

METHODS AND ORGANIZATION OF PRIMITIVE EDUCATION METHODS

Memory and Imitation.—Numerous glimpses of primitive educational Methods have already appeared in the discussion of the savage Curriculum; and more will come out in examining the Organization of primitive instruction. The present topic will attempt to include briefly several primitive pedagogic devices in common practice. Modern education is inclined to worship the text-book, to reverence the printed word; but the primitive child labored under no such difficulty. To be sure, he had his texts and must con them by heart. Memoriter methods prevailed, yet they seemed to sink deep through constant practice and drill. The ways of wild nature, the actual employments of his people and their customs, traditions and lore furnished his sole texts, varying according to culture status. Of schoolhouses devoted exclusively to educational purposes, savagery had none. The fireside, the fields, the Men's House, Medicine Lodge, or temple, were the common scenes of educational operations. The lack of pictures illustrating primitive educational methods is significant as showing that education and active life were undivorced; that edu-

cation was largely unconscious and practical, so natural and necessary, so axiomatic, in fact, that it did not attract sufficient attention to be set down by primitive artists and sculptors. It was a vital process, and we seldom attend to vital processes save when they become deranged; still less would the savage, whose introspection is nearly *nil*. With the exception of the Codex Mendoza, we are dependent wholly upon ethnography for our knowledge of savage educational method. It is evident that among those peoples reported as without educational processes, self-teaching must be the sole method. Such self-teaching reduces to mere unconscious absorption. Given time enough, experience teaches to discriminate and to imitate the best models. But experience is always a costly teacher; hence there must have been an enormous loss of time and energy in reducing such initial unselective imitation to a proper basis of values. Whether the objects of this mimicry were one's parents or one's fellows in the group, it could be no other than static and repressive.¹

Directed Imitation.—The substitution of consciously imposed and directed imitation for mere unreflective mimicry marks a notable advance in educational history. It is also an index of higher economic status, and of greater stability in parental and familial relations. But throughout this stage in education the learner still

¹ See in general: Graves, *Hist. of Educ. Before the Middle Ages*, 16; Monroe, *H. of Ed.*, 10-11; Ploss, ii., 323; Spencer and Gillen, *l. c.*, 27; Chamberlain, *l. c.*, 195-6; Mason, *W. S. in P. C.*, 206; id., *Orig. of Invention*, 198-200; Lippert, i., 229; Parsons, *l. c.*, 91; Eastman, *l. c.*, 3; Ihering, *Evol. of the Aryan*, 165; Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, i., 539; Darwin, *Desc. of M.*, i., 154; Groos, *Play of M.*, 280; Torday and Joyce, xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 46; Johnston, *Lion and Dragon*, 249.

is shackled; for imitation, literalism, habit, remain largely both end and means of instruction. The Ewe-speaking peoples have a proverb: "Follow the customs of your father. What he did not do, avoid doing or you will harm yourself."² And in this maxim lies bound up the program of primitive teaching even when it becomes more conscious and *avisé*. It is especially characteristic of domestic education, but applies also to the several forms of public instruction. Among the Twana Indians of Washington, "children are taught continually from youth till grown, to mimic the occupations of their elders."³ An early French voyager noted of the Indians he encountered: "Ils ne pensent pas à donner d'autre éducation à leurs enfants qu'à enseigner aux fils exactement ce que faisait leur père."⁴ Mr. F. C. Spencer brings this whole matter into clear relief in his admirable little study of Pueblo education. "Of the two great forces which have lifted humanity to the present place of civilization—imitation and invention—the latter has been almost wholly suppressed by the Pueblos." Hence exact reproduction has become the standard in both industry and religion. Everything is convention, ossified into fixed, hardened forms. Thus Pueblo art, instead of improvement and variety, shows nothing but repetition, if not actual deterioration.

"The advantages of the system are obvious. As there is no experimentation, no time, energy, or materials are

² Ellis, *Ewe-Speaking Peoples*, 83.

³ Rev. M. Eels, *Bulletin U. S. Geol. Survey*, iii. (1877), 90.

⁴ Fages, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tome cl., 153, cited by Bancroft.

wasted. It is based on imitation, which generates habit, and habit once fixed, all subsequent actions become easier and more skillful, and, hence, the amount of work the individual is able to accomplish is greatly increased. But praise of the system is but an extolling of the advantages of habit in industry—a factor without which progress is impossible, yet without invention it may and does produce stagnation.”⁵

It tends to arrest development by its strictly imposed limitations.

Drill.—In any system of education aiming chiefly at a body of inflexible habit, drill must play a constant rôle. It was preëminently so in savage teaching. Progressive drill in the actual arts themselves, progressive mimetic plays, rehearsing of song and legend are its chief forms. Kafir boys begin by attending to the calves in the kraal; “a good deal of time is passed in training them to run and to obey signals made by whistling. The boys mount them when they are eighteen months or two years old and race about upon their backs.”⁶ The Indian boys of Guiana,

“as soon as they are no more than mere babies, have no other toys than small bows and arrows and such mimic weapons of the chase, which become bigger and bigger, more like the real things, as the boy grows older. Every boy, almost as soon as he can walk, can send his arrow into a frog; a little later, lizards are his aim; and again a little later, small birds.”⁷ “Very early the Indian boy assumed the task of preserving and transmitting the

⁵ *Educ. of the Pueblo Child*, 88–91, 76.

⁶ Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Lore*, 220.

⁷ im Thurn, *l. c.*, 227–8; Thunberg, in Pinkerton, xvi., 102.

legends of his ancestors and his race. Almost every evening a myth, or a true story of some deed done in the past, was narrated by one of the parents or grandparents, while the boy listened with parted lips and glistening eyes. On the following evening he was usually required to repeat it. . . . The household became his audience, by which he was alternately criticized and applauded."⁸

In every land where girls received any training at all it usually took the forms of housewifery and agriculture, with drill to the point of drudgery. Repetition and drill often associated themselves with nature-observation. Both boys and girls in Australia "are trained to take note of every track made by every living thing."⁹

Eastman's boyhood training was particularly strict in this respect.

"My uncle," says he, "who educated me up to the age of fifteen years, was a strict disciplinarian and a good teacher. When I left the tepee in the morning, he would say: 'Hakadah, look closely at everything you see'; and at evening, on my return, he used often to catechize me for an hour or so."¹⁰

Exhortation and Story-Telling.—Exhortation is constantly plied in both savage and modern education to bolster up imitation and drill. But savages are peculiarly adept at the "word fitly spoken"; naturally so, since their libraries are oral and the tongue must supply the place of our printing press. The Aztec father, for example, used to deliver himself of long exhortations

⁸ Eastman, *l. c.*, 51.

⁹ Spencer and Gillen, *l. c.*, 24; cf. Mason, *Origins of Invention*, 16, citing Morelet.

¹⁰ Eastman, 52.

to his family much in the pompous Roman manner. The reader will recall from a preceding paragraph Mr. Grinnell's lively picture of the Indian camp orator urging groups of boys to good works.

"In tribal society," writes Major Powell, "an important agency of instruction is found in oratory. Every patriarch of a clan, every chief of a tribe, every shaman of a brotherhood, every chief of a confederacy, must be an instructor of his people. This instruction is necessarily conveyed by oratory; hence in tribal society a comparatively large number of persons are spokesmen or official orators." "When a mere boy the Indian lad would be permitted to sit in the village council house, and hear the assembled wisdom of the village or his tribe discuss the affairs of state. . . . In this way he early acquired maturity of thought, and was taught the traditions of his people, and the course of conduct calculated to win him the praise of his fellows."¹¹

Even where there is no avowed hortatory purpose the oral method of transmission is very effective. The Ainos, for example, have no written language, but they have songs and tales "handed down from their forefathers which are transmitted to their children, and thus they appear to preserve some rough sort of an account of their ancient history."¹² Perhaps the most effective service of the oral method came when it combined pulpit and stage in story-telling.

"During the long winter nights or during the periods of cold or inclement weather in which the Indians may not

¹¹ Powell, *Bur. Ethn.*, xx., p. cxcv; Nelson, *Ind. of N. J.*, 43; Schoolcraft, *Histor. and Stat. Inform. resp. Ind. Tr. of U. S.*, ii., 57; Lawson, *Hist. of N. C.*, 70.

¹² Lieut. Holland, iii. *J. A. I.*, 234.

venture out, they sit around the fire and relate stories intended for the instruction as well as entertainment of the younger people. The older men have a great stock of these stories, and many of the women are noted for their ability in entertaining the children, who sit with staring eyes and open mouth, in the arms of their parents or elders.¹³

Perhaps we should modify what we said in a preceding paragraph as to the predominance of the *What* as compared with the *Why* in savage moral teaching; at least to the extent of recognizing that the oral communication of tradition and folklore in some instances takes on the character of explanation. In such cases there is a watered attempt at rationalizing conduct. For example, Mr. Lummis says of the Pueblos:

"There is no duty to which a Pueblo child is trained in which he has to be content with the bare command, 'Do thus'; for each he learns a fairy tale designed to explain how people first came to know that it was right to do thus, and detailing the sad results which befell those who did otherwise."¹⁴

Fear and Superstition.—The fairy-tale method of the Pueblos suggests the whole negative aspect of legend transmission, namely, teaching by fear and superstition. It is probable that once the whole machine of ghost fear got a-going, no other single agency offered so

¹³ Turner, *Bur. Ethn.*, xi., 327; Hennepin, *Descript. de la Louisiane, Mœurs des Sauvages*, 50; cf. Annie Ker, *Papuan Fairy Tales*, introd.

¹⁴ *The Man Who Married the Moon*, 5; for general discussion of the pedagogic significance of folklore, see: Ploss, ii., 329 ff.; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Lore*, introduction; Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, preface, x., xi.

compelling a sanction for conduct. Hence we need not be surprised to find superstitious fear used in all ages as an educational lever. Indeed Professor Dresslar in his suggestive study of *Superstition and Education* is inclined to make the fear instinct the basic principle of savage pedagogy.

"If you do not do this or that, some calamity will come upon you; some evil spirit will have power over you, or some nether torment will get hold of you and keep you in a state of infinite fright. We can scarcely over-estimate in the history of educational development the compelling force of this desire 'to flee the wrath to come.' The presentation to the primitive mind of some possible bad luck or danger produced more immediate results in obedience than all the longings which could be induced by attempting to fix the mind on the true worth of right conduct. And this will continue until the harrowing perils of mere existence give place to a safer and calmer life, in which the instinct for the True, the Good, and the Beautiful will have a chance to develop its latent powers and emerge as the mentor of our future strivings."¹⁵

This is precisely what we meant when we said a while ago that the aims of savage education were the arts of self-maintenance, including peace with the powers unseen. Professor Dresslar found an enormous mass of superstitions surviving among to-be members of the teaching profession. Scarce a family in our land has never at some time or other invoked more or less definitely the ghost as an aid to discipline and a

¹⁵ Dresslar, *Superstition and Education*, 173; cf. Ploss, ii., 326, 329, 341-3, etc.

sanction to obedience. If we who pride ourselves on our rationalism still make so liberal use of the ghost stick, what a shadow it must have cast in the pedagogy of our primitive forbears! A very crude example of such methods occurs in a Pueblo custom. "Older members of the village would disguise themselves in ugly masks and call at dwellings at which there were children, and frighten them by threats of punishment or death."¹⁶ The masks of course impersonated hostile and dangerous powers. In Fiji, "grim, immodest representations of the human figure, about eighteen inches long, are used on the larger islands to terrify the children into quietness."¹⁷ Among the Nandi,

"if a son refuses to obey his father in any serious matter, the father solemnly strikes the son with his fur mantle. This is equivalent to a most serious curse, and is supposed to be fatal to the son, unless he obtains forgiveness, which he can only do by sacrificing a goat before his father."¹⁸

Masaba youth are inclined to independence, but may be brought up with a round turn by the parental authority, largely because of the belief in the awful power of a father's curse, *kutsuba*.¹⁹ Through the deliberate fostering of such superstitious fears in childhood, religion and the *mores* acquire an enormous purchase upon the individual mind, so that it works almost automatically along a groove of acquiescent acceptance. The Australians offer a capital example.

¹⁶ Fynn, *l. c.*, 148; for similar methods among the Zulus, see Cushing, *Primitive Motherhood*, 37. ¹⁷ Williams and Calvert, *l. c.*, 140.

¹⁸ Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 879.

¹⁹ Purvis, *Uganda to Mt. Elgon*, 290-1; cf. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon*, 319.

"We find our Blacks, male and female," says Curr, "submitting for years loyally and without exception to a number of irksome restraints, especially in connection with food, just as we Roman Catholics do to the fasts and abstinences imposed by the church. Now the question is, what is the hidden power which secures the Black's scrupulous compliance with custom in such cases? What is it, for instance which prompts the hungry Black boy, when out hunting with the White man, to refuse (as I have often seen him do) to share in a meal of emu flesh, or in some other sort of food forbidden to those of his age, when he might easily do so without fear of detection by his tribe? What is it that makes him so faithfully observant of many trying customs? My reply is that the constraining power in such cases is not government, whether by chief or council, but *education*; that the Black is educated from infancy in the belief that departure from the customs of his tribe is inevitably followed by one at least of many evils, such as becoming early grey, ophthalmia, skin eruptions, or sickness; but, above all, that it exposes the offender to the danger of death from sorcery."²⁰

Such facts need no exegesis.

Harsh Discipline.—The rod and other means more tangible than ghosts were frequently invoked as sanctions to good conduct. Father Boscan says of the Southern California Indians that the perverse child was invariably destroyed.²¹ On the other hand, among the natives of Rotuma, castigation is unknown; the sole method of correcting children is by laughing and

²⁰ Curr, *The Australian Race*, i., 54-5; cf. Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 256-7; also, H. Spencer, *Autobiography*, ii., 354-5.

²¹ Quoted by Bancroft, *N. R.*, i., 414.

making fun of them.²² Taylor once saw a man in New Zealand whose child was very troublesome in church, take him up and run out with him to a river close by, in which he kept ducking him until he ceased crying.²³ Use of the rod varies extremely. Among the Massim of British New Guinea "when naughty, children of either sex are gently beaten by their mother upon the cheeks or shoulders, never upon the buttocks, though sometimes a stick may be used."²⁴ Certain West Africans are somewhat more severe. "From the tenth year the discipline becomes more severe, lashes rain upon it if it commits a fault or fails to do its part of the common work."²⁵ According to the Codex Mendoza, the Aztecs were even more severe. One pic-

²² Gardiner, xxvii. *J. A. I.*, 408.

²³ *Te Ika a Maui*, 338; similar method among the Aleuts and Itau: see Ploss, *loc. cit.*, ii, 339; Reclus, *loc. cit.*, 51.

²⁴ Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 706.

²⁵ Dowd, *The Negro Races*, 142 (after Foa). While we are discussing savage corporal discipline it may not be amiss to remind ourselves that it remained for the Russians of the sixteenth century to interpret the ancient Hebrew proverb in terms of kill or cure.

"The children were treated no better than the wife. 'The more religious a father was,' says Professor Kostomarov, 'the more he was penetrated by Greek orthodoxy, the more severely he treated his children as the doctrines of his church commanded.'" Sylvester, one of the highest dignitaries of the Russian Church, taught the orthodox Christians of his times (in his ethical work *Domostroj*):

"Spare not your child from blows, for if you beat him with the rod he will not die, but be all the sounder for it; in pounding his body you save his soul from death. Out of love for your son increase his wounds, that you may have joy in him. Allow him no freedom in his youth but break his ribs so long as he grows. Let your anger burst upon your daughter that you may preserve her body pure; she must obey and have no will of her own." (W. G. Simkhowitsch, *Die Feldgemeinschaft in Russland*, 362.)

ture represents a father punishing his eleven year old son by holding him over the fumes of burning chile, while the mother does the same with her daughter. A bad twelve year old boy was also punished by tying his hands and feet and exposing him naked on damp ground a whole day. From other sources we learn that children when eight years old were

"merely shown the instruments of punishment as a warning. At ten, boys who were disobedient or rebellious were bound hand and foot and pricked in different parts of the body with thorns of the maguey; girls were only pricked in the hands and wrists; if this did not suffice they were beaten with sticks." "Liars had thorns thrust into their lips; and sometimes if the fault was frequent their lips were slightly split."²⁶

The most common faults which correction was designed to uproot seem in general to have been greediness and refusal to work, though sometimes the list includes impudence, forwardness, and disobedience.²⁷

Puberty Ceremonies.—By all odds the most dramatic episodes in the life of savage youth cluster about puberty ceremonies and those initiation rites which usher him into tribal maturity. Into them are concentrated drill, exhortation, and vivid illustration. In fact they might well be considered the epitome of primitive instruction, a bit of pageantry in which the whole range of tribal thought and practice is reviewed. Coming at

²⁶ Bancroft, *N. R.*, ii., 242, 246.

²⁷ Ploss, ii., 337; Dorsey, *Bur. Ethn.*, iii., 268; Man, xii. *J. A. I.*, 93; Sumner in a MS. note from Blumentritt on the Igorots of Pangasinan.

a period in life when imagination and feeling are at high-water mark, their impress is indelible. Whether they reasoned it out or not, primitive men here hit upon a pedagogic device of matchless importance, but one which we unfortunately have suffered largely to go by the board. The long fasts, vigils, and bodily torments, together with the natural excitement attendant upon participating in a whole series of mimetic representations tended to produce in the youth a condition of extreme sensitiveness, hyperæsthesia, a seed bed favorable to the sowing of seeds of discipline and control.

Take first the puberty ceremonies. Both boys, and even more frequently girls, are subjected to them. "At puberty the life of an African may be said to begin, and the ceremonies that are connected with initiation into manhood are both elaborate and protracted."²⁸ Before and during puberty ceremonies children are frequently put through severe *endurance tests*. Among the Sifan, a tribe at the headwaters of the Yanktse River, boys at fifteen are initiated with tortures under the eyes of the chief and lamas. So scorned and abused is the boy if he manifests pain, that he may commit suicide. If he passes this ordeal, a trial of hunger follows. Then he is given weapons and must forthwith prove his prowess as hunter or warrior.²⁹ Among the Sioux it was a custom

"that when a boy was born his brother must plunge into the water, or roll in the snow naked if it was winter time; and if he was not big enough to do either of these himself

²⁸ Rev. J. Macdonald, xix. *J. A. I.*, 268.

²⁹ W. J. Reid, in *Cosmopolitan*, xxviii., 450.

water was thrown on him. If the new-born had a sister she must be immersed. The idea was that a warrior had come to camp, and the other children must display some act of hardihood."³⁰

The Uaraycus of the Amazon River to try the fortitude of their maidens "hang them in a net to the roof of a hut, exposed to continual smoke, where they fast as long as they can possibly bear it. The youths are flogged for the same purpose."³¹ The Macusis of Guiana prescribe a puberty test to the youths who wish to participate in the Paiwari feast. The medicine men apply a machine containing ants to the body of the candidate perhaps twenty times. If he cries out from their vicious biting he is excluded.³² The entrance of boys into the ranks of manhood is by no means easy in British Guiana, writes Schomburgk.

"They must first submit to several tests to prove their manly qualities and strength. These tests consist chiefly in bearing severe slashings of the flesh of their breasts and arms with wild boars' tusks or toucan-bills. If the lad bears up under this test without betraying any sign of his suffering, he takes his place thenceforward among the men. But if his youthful heart should not yet be able to repress by strength of will the witness of his pain, he must return once more to his old estate until some future test proves his heightened self-control."³³

Among the Siciatl of British Columbia both boys and girls are secluded at puberty in cubicles, under supervision of old men and women.

³⁰ Eastman, *l. c.*, 4; cf. Nelson, *l. c.*, 41; Dorsey, *Bur. Ethn.*, iii., 266; Starr, *Am. Ind.*, 129; Ploss, ii., 4, citation from Abbé Domenech.

³¹ Markham, xxiv. *J. A. I.*, 280.

³² Appun, in 18 *Globus*, 301.

³³ *Britisch-Guiana*, i., 168.

"The occasion of their seclusion was taken advantage of by the elders to instruct them in the several duties and responsibilities of man and womanhood. They were made to eat and drink very sparingly throughout the whole period of their seclusion; the object of this on the part of the boy being to fit him for the privations of the hunter's life, and to prevent him from developing a lustful temperament and interfering with other men's wives. On the part of the girl, it was to prevent her from becoming a greedy and gluttonous woman, who would seek to rob her husband of the choicest portions of their food. To teach them industrious habits the girl was employed in plucking the needles from a fir branch one at a time, or in picking yarn and in spinning; the boy in making arrows and other masculine objects."³⁴

Among certain Salish tribes of the same region, girls but not boys are secluded at puberty; certain taboos on food, and the learning of mat- and basket-making, are prescribed.³⁵ The Manhes of Madeira used to prepare their youth for citizenship and marriage by a series of horrible ant-biting tests and bow-and-arrow practice up to their fourteenth year, by which time they were supposed to bear their pains without a sign.³⁶ When an Awemba (Lake Tanganika district, Africa) girl reaches nubility,

"she is initiated at a dance called the *chisunga*, which corresponds to the *unyago* of the Yaos, without the concomitant immoral practices. But the girls are not isolated for a month in huts built in the bush, as among the Yaos, since the ceremonies take place inside a hut in the village,

³⁴ Hill Tout, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 32.

³⁵ Hill Tout, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 319-20; cf. Gibbs, *l. c.*, 212.

³⁶ Spix and Martius, *Brasilien*, 1320; same description in von Martius' *Beiträge*, i., 403-4.

196 Primitive Family and Education

and last several months. Inside this hut dancing is kept up, and the girls are instructed in the elementary facts of life."

Praises of olden time midwives and exhortations to obey their future husbands, together with old saws urging modesty and decent dress, comprise most of the instruction.³⁷ Bechuana girls are not allowed to sleep during their puberty rites. They are compelled to sit upright on a rough wooden block so fashioned that if they attempt to lie down or keel over asleep they lose their balance and tumble off. An observer adds, "Die Hauptzweck dieser Ceremonie ist die Abhärtung der Jugend."³⁸ Among the Wagogo of German East Africa, considerable education goes along with circumcision in their puberty rites. Both sexes are included. "Stubborn, disobedient youths get thrashed unmercifully by their instructors, but they have to grin and bear it." Certain bathing ceremonies follow; the proceedings wind up with drinking and dancing. The lads are warned "that they must n't be in a hurry in paying their advances to the opposite sex." The girls are secluded and undergo a course of instruction, "some of which is good and some bad." To the good side must be put down instruction in cooking.³⁹ Apparently the only tribal ceremony in Nyassaland is the initiation dance for boys and girls of marriageable age.⁴⁰ Among the Malays, adolescence ceremonies are not confined to the age of puberty, but begin sometimes much earlier. They include circumcision,

³⁷ Sheane, xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 155-6. This is a puberty ceremony rather than initiation.

³⁸ Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd Afrika*, i., 484-5.

³⁹ Rev. H. Cole, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 308-9.

⁴⁰ Moggridge, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 470. This case illustrates again the frequent interchangeability of the terms "puberty rite" and "initiation."

tooth-filing or chipping, ear-boring, accompanied by purificatory rites, lights, banquets, music, and dancing.⁴¹ The Andamanese have a sort of puberty initiation for both boys and girls, consisting chiefly in fasts, abstinence from turtle, honey, pork, fish, and other favorite foods, lasting from one to five years.

"As at present understood, the a-ka-ya-ba is regarded as a test of the endurance or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family."⁴²

In Borneo, Ling Roth says:

"The women often prove the courage and endurance of the youngster by placing a lighted ball of tinder on the arm, and letting it burn into the skin. The marks thus produced run along the forearm from the wrist in a straight line, and are much valued by the young men as so many proofs of their power of endurance."⁴³

⁴¹ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 352-361.

⁴² Man, xii. *J. A. I.*, 130.

⁴³ *Nat. of Sarawak*, ii., 81. Further references on puberty rites: In general: Webster, *Prim. Secret Soc.*, 47, etc.; G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, chap. xiii.; Of boys: Bagge, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 168-9; Crawley, *M. R.*, 294 ff.; Torday and Joyce, xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 46; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii., 216; id., *Totemism and Exogamy*, i., 36 ff.; Guise, xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 207; Lewin, *Wild Races of S. E. India*, 102 ff.; Tate, xxxiv. *J. A. I.*, 133; Teit, *Thompson R. Indians*, 295 ff.; von Martius, *Beiträge*, i., 111; Parkinson, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, ii., 36; Gray, *ibid.*, vii., 229-30; Zaborowski, "La circoncision, ses origines et sa répartition en Afrique," in *L'Anthropologie*, vii., 653-75; Leprince, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvi., 59; Lafargue, *Bulletins de la Soc. d'Anthropol. de Paris*, 420-36; Lippert, ii., 341 ff.; Of girls: *Amer. Anthropol.*, n. s., iii., 633; iv., 283; Fritsch, *Die Eingeborene*, etc., 111 ff.; Guise, xxviii. *J. A. I.*, 215; Haarhoff, *Bantu-Stämme Süd-Afrikas*, 27, 30-3; Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 753, 827, 833, 864; Miss Kingsley, *W. A. S.*, 531; Koch, "Die Gwaikurustämme," in 81 *Globus*, 45; Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, 296-7; Loskiel, *l. c.*, 56-7; McGee,

Puberty and Initiation.—One reason for the importance of puberty ceremonies is, perhaps, that puberty is one of the few definite milestones of life to peoples who keep but the crudest of calendars. To such, anniversaries are impossible. We are told that the Kafir child has but one birthday in his lifetime. Since very often the child is not conceived as having a real existence until long after its birth, it is altogether natural to shift forward the real beginnings of real life till the somatic and psychic crisis of puberty can be observed and celebrated. Hence the difficulty in separating the mass of taboos, etc., connected with sex maturity from the ceremonies of initiation which mark and usher in tribal and social maturity. As a matter of practice they are usually coterminous, but with these exceptions, that generally girls are not initiated, and that initiation of boys is not accomplished *instante* and once for all, but is a lifelong process. For example, Ling Roth observed that among the Queensland aborigines there were four stages through which all initiates must pass. "It may be years, even up to old age, before all the social stages are reached."⁴⁴ This statement applies pretty generally to the Australian tribes.⁴⁵ But ordinarily the initiation at once in-

"Seri Indians," *Bur. Ethn.*, xvii., 10; Parkinson, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, ii., 32-3; Pector, *Intern. A. f. Ethnogr.*, v., 219; Powers, *Calif. Ind.*, l. c., 85, 235-6, 250; Spix and Martius, l. c., 1187; von Martius, l. c., i., 390, 402, 428, 510-11, 599, 644; No puberty rites: Maori, Tregear, xix. *J. A. I.*, 99; *Solomon Isl.*, Somerville, xxvi. *J. A. I.*, 407; *Anthropos*, ii., 1029-56; iii., 19-31; v., 454-6; *Amer. Anthropologist*, x., 215 ff.; *Jour. Amer. Folk-lore*, xxi., 37-9; *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, ix., 360-87.

⁴⁴ *Ethnol. Studies among Queensland Aborigines*, 169.

⁴⁵ Cf. Curr, *Australian Race*, i., 72. Among certain Africans of the Guinea Coast the initiation requires three years, during which the youth

troduced the candidate into full-fledged participation in the tribal life. We must remember the early age at which primitive economic independence is attained, and also the extremely low age of nubility and marriage.

Initiation Ceremonies.—We cannot account precisely for all the details of these savage ceremonies, sometimes grotesque, sometimes disgusting, sometimes inimical to life and limb. But in general they reduce to some form of physical testing, pulverizing the will of the initiate, inducing a hyper-impressionability; to inculcating tribal *mores* and tradition; to instruction in industrial arts; to some sort of symbolism portraying death to the life of childhood and sexlessness; to some form of sympathetic magic for carrying out all these aims. *The initiation ceremonies are usually accomplished under the direction of the tribal elders, priests, or secret societies. Note particularly that these are in every case tribal and not domestic agencies.* Professor Hutton Webster in his comprehensive study of primitive secret societies finds that initiation by tribal elders usually includes: The isolation of the initiates, their rigid exclusion sometimes for a long period from the women and children; their subjection to certain ordeals and rites designed to change their entire natures; the utilization of this period of confinement to convey to the novices a knowledge of the tribal traditions and customs; the inculcation by most practical methods of habits of respect and obedience to the older men.⁴⁶ Mr. Howitt

is secluded under care and instruction of special elders: see Chevrier, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii., 372-3.

⁴⁶ *Prim. Secret Soc.*, 32; cf. Crawley, *M. R.*, 294.

in a study of the initiation ceremonies of the Kurnai names the following five rules of conduct to be observed by the neophytes: To listen to and obey the old men; to share everything they have with their friends; to live peaceably with their friends; not to interfere with girls or married women; to obey the food restrictions until they are released from them by the old men.⁴⁷ I am inclined to find in these rites something more than a mere change from mother-right to father-right in the care and control of the male child.⁴⁸ It means that, but rather by way of stamping the insignia of sex than a mere transfer of authority. Still more does it signify the change from a domestic to a broader societal economy in the youth's life. Surely there would have been no need for all this elaborate paraphernalia with its rigorous educational aspect if it were designed merely to supplant maternal as against paternal authority. This distinction is perfectly illustrated by the Kurnai initiation, of which Howitt says:

"It formed a bond of peculiar strength, binding together all the contemporaries of the various clans of the Kurnai. It was a brotherhood including all the descendants of the eponymous male and female ancestors, Yeerung and Djeetgun."

And all the youths who have gone through the Jeraeil at the same time "are brothers, and in the future address each other's wives as 'wife,' and each other's children

⁴⁷ *J. A. I.*, xiv., 316; see also Matthews, "Initiation Ceremonies of the Wiradjuri Tribes," in *Am. Anthropol.*, iii., n. s., 337-41; Curr, *Austral. Race*, i., 71-2; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i., 38 ff.

⁴⁸ As Mr. Webster holds, *l. c.*, 21; cf. Lippert, ii., 343-4.

as 'child.'"⁴⁹ These notions of tribal solidarity and brotherhood appear strongly marked in other peoples. To the Elema (of the Papuan Gulf) initiation is all important, says the Rev. J. Holmes.

"On the performance of the instructions he received as an initiate the social and moral welfare of his tribe depends; as an individual he is only a unit of his tribe, but as such he must always conduct himself in all things for the highest interests of his tribe. The knowledge he acquired when an initiate must ever be to him a sacred possession, and not to be imparted to the uninitiated."

With this tribe, initiation is a long series of steps. It is true that after it begins the father's influence takes the ascendant, but *it is essentially a tribal affair*. The father's announcement of his son's initiation feasts is "a declaration *to the tribe*."⁵⁰

Examples of Initiation.—With these general notions in view, we may now add a few illustrations. The Tuscarora Indians put their young men through a terrific ordeal called the *husquenaugh*. The ceremony was extremely severe, disgusting, and apparently senseless in its cruelty.

"There is one abominable custom amongst them, which they call husquenawing their young men, which I have not made any mention of as yet. . . You must know, that most commonly, once a year, at farthest, once in two years, these people take up so many of their young men, as they think are able to undergo it, and husquenaugh them, which is to make them obedient and respective to their superiors, and, as they say, is the same to them as

⁴⁹ *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 198-9.

⁵⁰ *J. A. I.*, xxxii., 418.

it is to us to send our children to school, to be taught good breeding and letters. This house of correction is a large cabin, made on purpose for the reception of the young men and boys, that have not passed the graduation already; and it is always at christmas that they husquenaugh their youth, which is by bringing them into this house and keeping them dark all the time, where they more than half starve them. Besides they give them pellitory bark, and several intoxicating plants, that make them go raving mad as ever were any people in the world; and you may hear them make the most dismal and hellish cries and howlings that ever human creatures expressed: all which continues about five or six weeks, and the little meat they eat, is the nastiest, loathsome stuff, and mixt with all manner of filth it is possible to get. After the time is expired, they are brought out of the cabin, which is never in the town but always a distance off, and guarded by a jailor or two, who watch by turn. Now when they first come out, they are as poor as ever any creatures were; for you must know several die under this diabolical purgation. Moreover, they either really are, or pretend to be dumb, and do not speak for several days, I think, twenty or thirty, and look so ghastly, and are so changed, that it is next to an impossibility to know them again, although you was never so well acquainted with them before. I would fain have gone into the mad house, and have seen them in their time of purgatory, but the king (sic!) would not suffer it, because, he told me that they would do me or any other white man an injury, that ventured in amongst them, so I desisted. They play this prank with girls as well as boys, and I believe it a miserable life they endure, because I have known several of them to run away at this time to avoid it. Now the savages say if it was not for this, they could never keep their youth in subjection, besides that it hardens them ever after to the fatigues of

war, hunting, and all manner of hardship, which their way of living exposes them to. Besides, they add, that it carries off those infirm weak bodies, that would have been only a burden and disgrace to their nation, and saves the victuals and clothing for better people that would have been expended on such useless creatures."⁵¹

Among the Delawares, young boys were

"prepared in a most singular manner for the station they are intended to fill in the future, with a view to form a judgment of their capacity. They are made to fast so often and so long, that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged, and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them on this occasion, till they have had, or pretended to have had a dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. The impression thus made upon their minds is lasting, and the older they grow, the more earnestly they strive to fulfil their destination considering themselves as men of peculiar gifts, far exceeding all others."⁵²

Every male Zuñi child "must receive involuntary initiation at the age of four or five years and voluntary initiation at ten or twelve years into the society of the Kōk-kō, in order to be admitted after death into the great Dance-house in Kothluwalawa."⁵³ Mr. Spencer

⁵¹ John Lawson, *History of North Carolina*, 380-2. The Mandan Indians put their young men through a no less severe and revolting initiation. See Catlin, *North American Indians*, i., 169-76.

⁵² Loskiel, 63.

⁵³ M. C. Stevenson, "Zuñi Ancestral Gods and Masks," *Am. Anthropol.*, xi., no. ii., 39; see also the curious Tusayan initiation ceremony described by Fewkes, *Bur. Ethn.*, xv., 283-4, 308.

found the elaborate initiatory ceremonies of the Pueblos to form the larger part of their purposeful education.⁵⁴ West African

"boys are exercised so as to become inured to hardship; in some districts they make raids so as to perfect themselves in this useful accomplishment. They always take a new name, and are supposed by the initiation process to become new beings in the magic wood, and on their return to their village at the end of the course, they pretend to have entirely forgotten their life before they entered the wood; but the pretence is not kept up beyond the period of festivities given to welcome them home. They all learn, to a certain extent, a new language, a secret language only understood by the initiated."⁵⁵

Werner says of British Central Africa that in many tribes "the only systematic teaching of any sort is that given at the mysteries. . . the boys are given advice about the conduct of life, and instructed in the traditions of the tribe."⁵⁶ Among the South African tribes observed by Rev. J. Macdonald, youths are secluded, must steal their meat, are punished for clumsiness, forced to dance and run violently, are kept awake, and beaten with rods. In the course of this rigorous treatment many die.⁵⁷ In Australia Howitt says:

"The intention of all that is done at this ceremony is to make a momentous change in the boy's life. . . . He is now to be a man, instructed in and sensible of the duties

⁵⁴ *Educ. of the Pueblo Child*, 82.

⁵⁵ Miss Kingsley, *Travels in W. A.*, 531.

⁵⁶ *British Central Africa*, 124.

⁵⁷ *J. A. I.*, xix., 268; cf. note on the Tuscaroras for *social selection* of the fit; also, Curr, *Austral. Race*, i., 72.

which devolve upon him as a member of the Murring community. . . . The ceremonies are intended to impress and terrify the boy in such a manner that the lesson may be indelible and may govern the whole of his future life. . . . The ceremonies are also intended to rivet the influence and power of the old men on the novices."⁵⁸

It is at this time that the very complicated laws relating to class and totemic divisions, on which the marriage system rests, are brought to the novice's attention. In various localities the program includes the sacred songs of the tribes, native games, dancing certain corroborees forbidden to the uninitiated, lore and traditions of the tribes, tribal boundaries, reasons for ancient feuds, and a sort of rough pragmatic geography indicating friendly and hostile districts; the whole being sometimes conducted in a secret language taught to the initiate and used only among the initiate.⁵⁹ Professor Haddon found similar subjects and methods in the initiatory rites of Torres Straits tribes.⁶⁰ In Melanesia Codrington found, it is true, no initiation or "making of young men," but he did find "entrance into various societies," whose functions, as nearly as we can make out, correspond to tribal initiation.⁶¹ In certain tribes, initiation is a season of immoral practices and sex license, *e.g.*, among natives of Kiwai Island and

⁵⁸ Howitt, *N. T. of S. E. A.*, 532-3; *cf.* Spencer and Gillen, *N. T. of C. A.*, 212-30; Bundock, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, ii., 53; Semon, *In the Aust. Bush*, 231.

⁵⁹ Matthews, xxxiii. *J. A. I.*, 269.

⁶⁰ *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, vi., 131 ff., 140 ff.; *cf.* Pector, same publication, v., 219.

⁶¹ *Melanesians*, 233, also various places in chap. v.

the Bugilai of New Guinea⁶²; yet even these apparent irregularities probably contain a secret ceremonial significance. In any event, they do not comprise the whole machinery of initiation, and in many cases the whole tone of the ceremonies is distinctly opposed to sex license.

One final case must close this series. We have selected it because it illustrates several points, viz., the aims of the ceremonies, their duration, the content, method, and personnel of instruction, and its barbarous excrescences.

Elema boys when candidates for initiation are called *malai-asu* or *heava*, and are secluded in a special building, the *eravo*. The reasons assigned for this seclusion are "that when boys reach the age of puberty, they ought not to be exposed to the rays of the sun, lest they suffer thereby; they must not do heavy manual work, or their physical development will be stopped; all possibility of mixing with females must be avoided, lest they become immoral, or illegitimacy become common in the tribe."

The boy's own mother must not be seen by him and must cough or make some distinctive noise when she approaches to leave him food, so that he may have time to retire within the *eravo*. Seclusion does not mean utter incarceration as in the husquenaugh; for the boys are allowed occasionally to take the air; but on such walks they are under a bond of silence and must avoid going near their homes and the possibility of being recognized by their female relatives. They must observe certain arbitrary food taboos. Whilst observing these taboos,

"they are instructed by the old man who resided constantly with them as their instructor and adviser, in all

⁶² Rev. Jas. Chalmers, xxxiii. *J. A. I.*, 109, 119, 124.

matters pertaining to taboo recognized by their tribe. They learn the seasons that are closed against certain kinds of fish, and the times when certain kinds of food and fruit are to be reserved for coming feasts; so that when they leave the *eravo* they are quite qualified in such matters to look after their own property and to care for the best interests of their tribe. The occupations of the *heava*, during their confinement in the *eravo*, are, of necessity, few, and take the form of pastimes rather than work of a serious and important nature. Plaiting armlets and girdles, preparing paper mulberry for *si*'s or genital coverings such as are worn by the men, making combs and headdresses for future use, are the principal forms of work. . . . It is during this period that they receive such information as is calculated to equip them for all the duties and obligations of citizens and worthy members of their tribe. From their guardian they receive all kinds of advice respecting their duty to their tribe; this must always take the first place in all their actions; the enemies of the tribe must be the enemy of the individual initiate; it will be to the best interests of the tribe that it should be so. In selecting a wife, the first thing to be considered is the interests of the tribe, whether she is likely to bear children; on the other hand, if she proves to be barren, the obligation of the husband to the wife ceases, because she cannot bear him children, *i.e.*, because she is not contributing to the strength of the tribe. Whatever serves the highest interests of the tribe is justifiable."

It is this measuring rod that declares to the initiate that illicit intercourse is wrong, that infanticide may be right, that survival of the fittest is the *summum bonum*. Furthermore, sorcery being an important element in Elema life, is included in the course of *heava* instruction, "not with a view of making them sorcerers, but to impress on their

minds how great is the power of sorcerers." The succeeding stage of initiation is known as *heapu*; the seclusion is somewhat relaxed, but the initiates are not allowed to mix with their relatives or to sleep at home. During this period they meet the *semese* or fighting men of the tribe, "from whom they receive every incentive to become warriors." Finally there are certain endurance tests that each *heapu* must pass before he is considered eligible to become a *semese*. "Of these the most important tests are, chewing *upe* (the root of the ginger plant), and drinking the urine of the *semese* chief." The wind-up of the whole affair is the feast at which the *heapu* at last becomes a full-fledged *semese* and is entrusted with its mysteries; but this mystery feast is really an anticlimax and frequently disappoints the candidates. Its educational significance is *nil* compared with the preceding stages.⁶³

Play.—Play enters as an important element into these various ceremonies, public rites, initiations, and endurance tests. They become nearly always a public festival, and a festival is essentially play. These great public plays in addition to their service as an educational device were of the highest value as a societal bond; both literally and figuratively they served to emphasize the tribal brotherhood. But aside from this public and communal aspect, play marked every feature of savage life. I am not sure that we can say that it occupied a larger place among primitive men than with ourselves, for it is difficult to determine exactly how much play spirit enters into the modern scholar's or business man's everyday affairs; but this much is certain, that in savagery the lives of both man and child

⁶³ Holmes, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 418-25.

were cast largely in a mold of play. It is a curious commentary on the primitive rôle of play to find in Baegert's old book on the Indians of Lower California that their language was utterly deficient in abstract terms and lacked words for the most rudimentary human relationships; that even the parts of the body were without names; but the verb *to play* existed in a complete conjugation, and, oddly enough, is the only detailed bit of the Waicuri language which has been preserved to us.⁶⁴ If, as Miss Appleton thinks,⁶⁵ play is a real hunger, then primitive peoples were ever hungry.

We accept the theory that play is an imperious instinct but are here concerned rather with its definite educational, rather than its biologic aspect. We have already seen how, in the lowest stages of culture, learning was accomplished by bare undirected imitation; and how among higher peoples imitation became conscious, selective, directed. In both cases, however, the major part of the result came about through *playful* imitation. It was largely anticipatory play. The old custom of hanging miniature toy-weapons over the baby's cradle was a very definite attempt at directed anticipatory play, mixed perhaps with a bit of magic. For example, in Lapland bows and arrows or a lance were hung over the cradles of boys "to teach them even in the cradle what ought to be their employment during their lives"; over girls they hung wings, feet, and bill of the jopos bird "to insinuate to them from their infancy

⁶⁴ Pp. 394 ff.

⁶⁵ *A Comparative Study of the Play Activities of Adult Savages and Civilized Children*, (Chicago, 1910), 77 ff.

the advantages of neatness and agility.”⁶⁶ The Guarani of South America, and the Sioux and Algonquins presented their infant boys with bows and arrows and the girls also with suggestions of their future employments.⁶⁷ Similarly in old Mexico four days after the birth of a child, a festival was prepared at which the child was undressed and, with a certain ritual, washed. “It was then that the toy instruments of war or craft or household labour were placed in the boy’s or girl’s hand (a custom singularly corresponding with one in China).”⁶⁸ Later the child used, or was taught to use, these infant gifts in such a way as to focus on his future occupations. Pueblo parents gave their children dolls representing their deities and guided their games with them, so that the child early learned to recognize many of their gods.

“Like the plays of children everywhere,” says Spencer, “those of the Pueblo children are symbolical; spontaneous imitation of the more serious work of their elders prevails and is truly educational, as it prepares the way for the later life into which they are to enter. But very early, even the plays, unconsciously to the children, are directed by the parent. The principal occupations of the Pueblos, such as agriculture, hunting, pottery and implement making, weaving, and building, are all imitated in the plays of the children.”⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Pinkerton, i., 168; cf. Codrington, *Melanesians*, 280, for another expression of a similar notion; also for the Zuni Indians, Cushing, *Primitive Motherhood*, 33.

⁶⁷ Ploss, ii., 325.

⁶⁸ Tylor, *P. C.*, ii., 436; similarly, the Lindu of Africa, Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 553; also the Baganda, xxxii. *J. A. I.*, 30; also the Suaheli, H. Krauss, “Spielzeug der Suahelikinder,” *Globus*, 92, 357 ff.

⁶⁹ *Educ. of the Pueblo Child*, 77.

I consider the case of the Pueblos exceptional, and that the play of savage children was usually purely spontaneous, without even this measure of parental interference. Eastman's boyhood among the Sioux is far more typical.

"Our sports were molded by the life and customs of our people; indeed, we practiced only what we expected to do when grown. Our games were feats with the bow and arrow, foot and pony races, wrestling, swimming, and imitation of the customs and habits of our fathers. We had sham fights with mud balls and willow wands; we played lacrosse, made war upon bees, shot winter arrows (which were used only in that season), and coasted upon the ribs of animals and buffalo robes."⁷⁰

The exceeding definiteness of such plays indicates that direction would have been superfluous, if not nullifying to the whole business. Indeed the very motor nature of the imitative-play instinct suffices to give it both content and direction.⁷¹ But the content of primitive imitation-play was not confined to the mere round of domestic occupations. It included, if it did not actually depend largely upon, the broader, more spectacular activities of the group. War, hunting, and religious ceremonial offered tempting models.

⁷⁰ *Indian Boyhood*, 64. Cf. Catlin's description of sham fights and dances of Mandan Indian boys, *North Amer. Ind.*, i., 131-2.

⁷¹ This accords thoroughly with numerous observations upon the lack of compulsion or forcing of attention in primitive education. See Lippert, i., 226-8; Letourneau, *L'évol. de l'éduc.*, 118; Grasberger, *Erziehung u. Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum*, 1^{er} Theil, 1^e Abtheilung, "Die Knabenspiele," pp. 1-27; see especially Plato's famous statement of the doctrine of "playful interest," as against compulsion in education, in the *Republic*, book vii.

"Occasionally there was a medicine dance away off in the woods where no one could disturb us, in which the boys impersonated their elders, Brave Bull, Standing Elk, High Hawk, Medicine Bear, and the rest. They painted and imitated their fathers and grandfathers to the minutest detail, and accurately too, because they had seen the real thing all their lives."⁷² "Among the Siouan tribes, as among other Indians, amusements absorbed a considerable part of the time and energy of the old and young of both sexes. Among the young, the gambols, races, and other sports were chiefly or wholly diversional, and commonly mimicked the avocations of the adults. The girls played at the building and care of houses and were absorbed in dolls, while the boys played at archery, foot-racing, and mimic hunting, which soon grew into the actual chase of small birds and animals. Some of the sports of the elders were unorganized diversions, leaping, racing, wrestling, and other spontaneous expressions of exuberance. Certain diversions were controlled by more persistent motives, as when the idle warrior occupied his leisure in meaningless ornamentation of his garment or tipi, or spent hours of leisure in esthetic modification of his weapon or ceremonial badge, and to this purposeless activity, which engendered design with its own progress, the incipient graphic art of the tribes was largely due. The more important and characteristic sports were organized and interwoven with social organization and belief so as commonly to take the form of elaborate ceremonial, in which dancing, feasting, fasting, symbolic painting, song, and sacrifice played important parts, and these organized sports were largely fiducial. The ceremonial observances of the Siouan tribes were not different in kind from those of neighboring contemporaries. . . . So the sports of the

⁷² Eastman, *l. c.*, 3.

Siouan Indians were both diversional and divinatory, and the latter were highly organized in a manner reflecting the environment of the tribe, their culture-status, their belief, and especially their disposition toward bloodshed; for their most characteristic ceremonials were connected, genetically, if not immediately, with warfare and the chase."⁷³

Magical Plays.—Ritual and magic are so important in savagery that literalism commands a premium. It is vastly more important that one be able to make the exact motions than that one understand their precise content and significance. Hence religious ceremonial offered a wide field for imitative play, and one by no means neglected.

"Among enlightened peoples games are usually associated with sport and recreation. With some primitive peoples games are played primarily for divination, but the ceremonial games of the Zuñis are for the bringing of rain, and they constitute an important element in their religious and social life. Each game has its regulations and limitations, and there is a deep meaning underlying such of the games as are supposed to have come from the gods. . . . The younger Zuñi children play the ceremonial games, however, with little or no understanding of the occultism associated with them."⁷⁴

But the mere fact of their "trying on" the motions was the most direct and concrete anticipation imaginable.

Dancing.—We cannot enter into all the details of savage ceremonial play; but no account, however brief, can afford to omit some attention to Dancing. "There

⁷³ W J McGee, *Bur. Ethn.*, xv., 174-5.

⁷⁴ Mrs. Stevenson, *Bur. Ethn.*, xxiii., 317.

are three things that are the gift of the Almighty," said a cunning old Irish weaver to the poet Yeats, "poetry, dancing, and principles." And savage, no less than civilized peoples, have accepted the gifts and used them abundantly. The dance has ever been a strong social bond, a means of social control, and therefore an educator. "It is by dancing alone that, among uncultured peoples, joy in common is expressed in regard to a happy event which affects the whole tribe." "In a pueblo, you sum up political discord in one word when you say that 'all the people are not dancing together.' And when a reconciliation is in progress it would be hard to say whether the accompanying dance more truly expresses the movement or brings it about. A revival of social solidarity means a revival of dancing."⁷⁵ But this is not all. Dancing becomes not only joyous comment upon what has already happened but also a deliberate concerted effort to bring things to pass. Thus it often is the preamble to war, hunting, and religious observances. In all these aspects it turns out to be one of the very strongest forces for public order and for the control of public opinion. This is of course in direct consequence of the stimulating and hypnotic nature of rhythmic motion. The peculiar quality of the dance as an agent of control is that it affects both the participant and the observer. The eye of the adult no less than that of the child delights in movement, and distinguishes between mere pleasure in motion as such, and pleasure in sensuously agreeable movement. The subtle pleasure arising from

⁷⁵ Barbara Freire-Marreco, in *Sociological Review*, iv., 328 (Oct., 1911); cf. Deniker, *Races of Man*, 207-8; Tylor, *Anthropology*, 296-7.

watching the flight of swallows, a whirlwind of autumn leaves, a flurry of snow, the surging of a holiday shopping crowd, a group of bare-legged youths in a hurdle race, the dextrous passes of a juggler, the graceful steps and leaps of a Russian dancer, or a crowd of skaters on the ice or in a rink, transcends the mere attention to and satisfaction in motion. There are overtones of satisfaction; perhaps we should better say there is a real intoxication. It is easy to see the cumulative effect of a dance in which a whole tribe takes part; still more when, as often happens, several tribes unite. A sort of ecstatic state is induced which Groos calls a "state apart from the narrow individual sphere, and favourable to social affiliation."⁷⁶ But the effect often went farther; the dance frequently was the diplomatic exchange preliminary to forming an alliance⁷⁷; it played a similar rôle in marriage arrangements.⁷⁸ Whatever has been said of primitive dancing applies equally well to primitive music, for they are identical in origin, and practically inseparable in function. It suffices here to point out that this most important educational method was distinctly beyond the reach of mere family activity; that it was one of those products which the group creates for its own stability and cohesion.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Play of Man*, 354.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 355.

⁷⁸ Lippert, ii., 14, 148.

⁷⁹ The Veddahs offer an interesting converse proof of the social importance of the festival, including music, the dance, feasting, and fasting. They occupy perhaps the lowest rung of civilization's ladder; they are without formal political organization; they are said to have failed to acquire the art of war; are without arts or trade, and subsist by the chase; to complete the list of negatives, they are reported as having "only feeble suggestions of the festival." Groos, *l. c.*, 337.

A further word on the subject of play may not be amiss, especially

SUMMARY.—To sum up the preceding paragraphs on Methods: We find that in the lower culture stages undirected imitation, hence self-education, prevails. The method of directed or selective imitation is largely domestic but also invoked by public or communal agencies. Drill, also, is both domestic and public. Exhortation in its most effective forms, public. Fear and superstition wielded liberally by both. But the most important methods of all, ceremonies of initiation and tribal festivals, are distinctively public. Finally, play in all its forms is largely self-education. This portion of our study seems to have placed the educational emphasis upon group methods, and to have reduced the

the very practical topic of occupational interest and mental development. The occupation or task that cannot be dramatized is deadening. Enough attention has not been given to the interaction of occupation and mind growth. The task can deaden the mind, we say; but the developed mind can illuminate the task also. Agriculture in its lowest stages was spurned by men and relegated as drudgery to women; women's minds reflected the lack of interest imposed by an unilluminated task. The men dramatized the chase and war (which is perhaps only man-hunt as Deniker points out); their minds developed in and by the process. By and by, the chase failing, or other circumstances rendering a sedentary life necessary, men had to resume the task of agriculture. *But on a higher level*; for their minds having attained higher development, they could invest the occupation with new qualities. For example, they could get beyond the first stages of interest, interest in the crop alone as a direct food-accomplishment, *i.e.*, interest in the result; they had attained to the second and gradually to the third stage, where more and more the process, the technique of means, becomes of more interest than the immediate result. This I call a distinct achievement. The soil, no longer a sort of penny-in-the-slot arrangement for the crudest belly satisfaction, becomes an actor in the great drama of agriculture. But such a dramatization of the soil could only have come by reason of minds elevated through dramatic interest in previous occupations. The illumination of the occupation reacts on the worker's

family, by comparison, to a minimal significance as an educative agency.

ORGANIZATION

Education a Group Affair.—It should hardly be necessary to go into great detail concerning the Organization of primitive education, for the various agencies at work have already been touched upon in the discussions of Content and Methods. It will suffice to gather up and clarify these scattered observations. It is evident that throughout the whole history of education the group has ever been in the background as the silent arbiter of discipline and control. In the lowest stages where no conscious education obtains, the educative agent is the individual himself, but always with the

mind, and *vice versa*, in an endless interplay. What makes a "factory hand" is just the lack of this illumination. In this respect the child-labor agitators of the early nineteenth century were entirely correct in their bitter condemnation of the factory system. Socialism is little more than a plea for this opportunity to dramatize toil and make it interesting.

Further references on this paragraph: Boas, "On Certain Songs and Dances of the Kwakiutl," *Jour. Am. Folklore*, i., 49; Dorsey, *Bur. Ethn.*, xi., 452; Groos, *Play of Animals*, and *Play of Man*, various places; G. S. Hall, *Educ. Rev.*, xxiii., 438-9; Henderson, *Prin. of Educ.*, 397; Jenks, *Bontoc Igorot*, 65; Johnston, *Uganda*, ii., 753-4, 833; Lewin, *Wild Races of S. E. Ind.*, 201, etc.; Morgan, *Anc. Soc.*, 116-7; Ploss, ii., 289-322; Purvis, *Uganda to Mt. Elgon*, 338; Ratzel, i., 442; Karl Storck, *Der Tanz*; Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, 274-8, 291-4; Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, 129; Lawson, *Hist. of N. C.*, 285; Mooney, *Bur. Ethn.*, xiv., part ii., an exhaustive and fascinating study of the Indian Ghost Dance and its parallels in other religions; Yone Noguchi, *Lafcadio Hearn in Japan*, 76-9, suggests the importance of the Ghost-Festival-Dance to Japanese social life. Dr. L. H. Gulick in his *Healthful Art of Dancing*, which has recently appeared, makes a strong plea for the revival of this ancient educational instrument in modern school curricula and methods.

group as his balance wheel. In the higher stages, vocational education is largely domestic; but sometimes the Men's House, the secret society, or the tribal elders give instruction in the industrial arts. For example, children of the Brazilian Bororos go to the *Bahito*, or men's house, as soon as they are weaned, and after their entry visit their parents only occasionally. The Bahito is

"a public school where the children are taught spinning, weaving, and the manufacture of weapons, and above all singing, upon perfection in which is centred the ambition of those who wish to become chieftains."⁸⁰

Instruction for social life, including manners, traditions, religious observances, come to the savage youth both by his own unconscious absorption and by his imitative play; through domestic inculcation; but mainly through disciplinary tests, initiations, or participation in communal festivals and communal activities. In fact children in certain tribes receive practically no formal instruction prior to initiation, which is a public enterprise.⁸¹ Among the American Indians in general, Mason asserts, the instruction of the child was "the charge, not of the parents and grandparents alone but of the whole tribe."⁸² Amongst the Greenlanders, a father concerns himself with the single idea, that his sons shall at the very earliest learn the use of canoes and weapons; whatever pertains to their training for useful *societal* life, he leaves to the *social agencies* which surround him⁸³;

⁸⁰ Frič and Radin, xxxvi. *J. A. I.*, 388.

⁸¹ Notably the Australian tribes. See, e.g., Curr, i., 71-2.

⁸² *Handbook of American Indians* (*Bur. Ethn. Bulletin* 30), 414-5.

⁸³ Ploss, ii., 340.

family education here plays second fiddle. In the matter of discipline the share of the tribe is sometimes very explicit. Of the Apaches it is said that

"parents would be ill-advised to punish their boys or reprimand them severely. Nothing serious takes place without the consent of the entire tribe, which has by no means abdicated its collective paternal rights, or delegated them to the heads of families in their individual capacity."⁸⁴

A curious example of the stronger part of the whole group functioning as a disciplinary agency occurs in South Guinea, where the adult males have a secret association, *Nda*, whose object is to keep the women, children, and slaves in order.⁸⁵ Other tribes, notably in southern India, have a monitorial system in connection with their men's houses. A head boy is placed in charge of the others and is responsible for their discipline.⁸⁶

Various Special Agencies.—In the communication of traditional lore, parents, elders (both men and women), chiefs, medicine men, bards, public orators and story-tellers, and leaders of the secret societies share in varying degrees. Among the Zuni, for instance, the priests and the mystic order of Kōk-kō divide with parents the youth's instruction. A ceremony corresponding somewhat to Christian baptism and first communion, and lasting several days, initiates the child into the

⁸⁴ Reclus, 131.

⁸⁵ Crawley, 43. Similar society among Pomo Indians of California: see Powers, *l. c.*, 157.

⁸⁶ This system prevails among most of the tribes of southeastern India except the Chukmas proper. See Lewin, *Wild Races of S. E. India*, 118-9, 182.

order of Kōk-kō. It is of the utmost importance, for "no male child above the age of four years may, after death, enter the Kiva of Kōk-kō unless he has received the sacred breath of Kōk-kō"; and this can only be secured by initiation.⁸⁷ The priests figure also in such customs as the *shiang pruhpo* of southeastern India; this is a religious ceremony in which boys from eight to nine years of age, and sometimes men young and old, are placed every year in "retreat" in the men's house under charge of the priests.⁸⁸ Among the Lolos of western China the priest is also the teacher.⁸⁹ In ancient Gaul the priests had a large share in education, which attracted considerable attention on account of its high quality.⁹⁰ The Sifans of northeastern Asia do not bother with any priestly intermediary, however, but hang their children in skin cradles suspended from trees in some neighboring forest, and leave them there until they are three or four years old, so that they may be properly instructed *by the deities direct*.⁹¹

Men's Houses.—The rôle of the men's houses has been already frequently reiterated, but their educational import can scarce be exaggerated, for their influence is both wide and deep. In every inhabited island of Torres Straits, Haddon found

"a certain area set apart for the use of the men which was known as a Kwod. . . . Gray-headed men talked and

⁸⁷ Mrs. T. E. Stevenson, *Bur. Ethn.*, v., 548.

⁸⁸ Lewin, *l. c.*, 102 ff.; cf. Chevrier, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii., 372-3.

⁸⁹ Henry, xxxiii. *J. A. I.*, 104.

⁹⁰ M. Gustave Fougères in a lecture before the Alliance Française, Yale, Nov. 2, 1910. Tacitus in his *Germania* says that in ancient Germany priests alone were allowed to inflict discipline on warriors.

⁹¹ W. J. Reid, *Cosmopolitan*, xxviii., 443.

discussed about fighting, dancing, *tai*, angud, women, and other matters of interest. The young men sat still and learnt from the old men, as my informant said, 'it was like a school.'"⁹²

The *estufa* of our own arid Southwest was a still more striking educational center.

"Each clan," says Bandelier, "had its own *estufa*, and the young men slept in it under the surveillance of one or more of the aged principals, until they married, and frequently even afterward. There the young men became acquainted with the affairs of their individual connections, and little by little also with the business of the tribe. There during the long evenings of winter, old men taught them the songs and prayers embodying traditions and myths, first of their own clan, then of the tribe. The *estufa* was school, club-house, nay, armory to a certain extent. It was more. Many of the prominent religious exercises took place in it. The *estufa* on special occasions became transformed into a temple for the clan who had reared it."⁹³

⁹² Haddon, *Rep. of Cambridge Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Str.*, iii., 263-4, 365-6; cf. Frobenius, *Die Masken u. Geheimbünde Afrikas*, 118.

⁹³ Bandelier, *The Delight Makers*, 19; Fynn, *l. c.*, 133-4. H. Schurtz (*Altersklassen und Männerverbände: eine Darstellung der Grundformen der Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1902), shows how savage life was and is still honeycombed with secret societies and "clubs" of warriors, hunters, etc., which have as ancient an origin as the "marriage classes" of clan organization or totemism. These clubs or societies anticipate many characteristic elements in the future guild, and are marked by secrecy, independence from the family and sometimes the clan, common worship of special gods, common meals, jurisdiction within the society, and brotherhood. Schurtz shows further how these societies transmitted the tribal arts to initiates; the "mysteries" thus inculcated include secret ways of warding off witchcraft of enemies,

Public Assembly.—Neither should the share of the public assembly in education be overlooked. Lawson, for instance, wrote of certain Tuscarora gatherings:

“At these festivals it is, that they give a traditional relation of what hath passed among them, to the younger fry, these verbal deliveries being always published in their most public assemblies, serve instead of our traditional notes by the use of letters.”⁹⁴

“Fosterage.”—One other form of the primitive division of educational labor deserves at least mention, namely, the custom of “fosterage.” Among the ancient Scandinavians “it was the general custom among chiefs

the art of warfare, making of boats, nets for fishing, traps for animals, snares for birds, secrets of hunting, and the magical ceremonies and mask-dances which give success to the hunter, methods of building the communal house and of forging metals so as to conciliate hostile spirits and avoid trouble.

⁹⁴ *H. of N. C.*, 70. The public nature of instruction in tribal *mores* and traditions ought by this time to be sufficiently evident. Featherman's account (*l. c.*, i., 514) of Hottentot mothers teaching children “all the customs, ceremonials, and practices which had existed among them from times immemorial” is, to say the least, open to question. The West Australian circumcision ceremonies are far more nearly typical. Here the whole tribe assembles for the occasion; certain food taboos are invoked; the entire company join in certain feasts and dances; the candidates are painted, etc.; “at night, huge fires are kindled, and the elders sit around them with the candidates, teaching them the laws and traditions of the tribes, the boundaries of their territory, the reasons of their feuds with other tribes, etc., etc., and the strict lines of their future conduct are clearly laid down for them. Ritual songs and dances are taught and performed, their significance explained and the mystery of the ‘tarlow’ [magic rites for increasing food-supply] and its ceremonial expounded.” Such ceremonies review the whole content of tribal knowledge, and are specially significant from the fact that *the group functions as a whole in the business of instruction*. See Clement, *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.*, xvi., 10-11.

and other leading men not to have their children reared at home, but to have them educated with some distinguished friend for the future duties of life.”⁹⁵ I have been told that the custom of exchanging children is an educational practice between certain South Sea islands.

“The subject of Fosterage formed an important part in the family life of the early Irish people. It was held by them that discipline, obedience, and respect for their superiors and the work which boys and girls would have to follow in their after lives, was best learnt away from their own homes. Parents consequently sent their children, when about seven years of age, to a relative or some one belonging to their own grade of society, to be nurtured and instructed so as to fit them for their future calling in life. The person to whom the child was intrusted was called his foster-father. As the young person’s work in life was, in addition to physical exercise and the use of arms, connected with the soil, the cultivation of the land and that which grew and fed upon it was what the boy had to learn. The girls in the same way were instructed ‘in discipline, the use of the quern, kneading, and all descriptions of domestic work.’ We hear nothing of the intellectual acquirements of these young people; in truth no instruction of the kind was possible until well after St. Patrick’s time. Up to that period the education of the hereditary characters of the young persons was the aim of foster-parents, together with training their powers of endurance and preparation for war. To enable the foster-parent to fulfil his trust he was, under the Brehon Code, allowed to chastise his foster-son, but never to the extent of drawing blood or leaving a mark on the lad; heavy penalties were imposed

⁹⁵ Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, ii., 42.

for a breach of this law. In case of illness, inability to learn his duties, or for gross misconduct, the foster-father was allowed to send the lad back to his parents; on the other hand, if a foster-father kept a boy until he was seventeen years of age, when the lad was under obligation to return to his home, and it was then found that he was not efficient in the use of arms and for the work of his future calling, obedient, and in fact, properly instructed, the foster-father was heavily fined. The amount of the fine was to be made over to the lad because, as the Brehon Code states, it was "upon him the injury of the want of learning had been inflicted."⁹⁶

I have quoted this passage somewhat at length to show that at least one rude people concerned itself seriously and intelligently with education; and furthermore, that this same people denied in their law and in their practice that dictum of Sir Francis Galton to the effect that the child's own parents are his best teachers. But the ancient Irish were not alone in this opinion. We are sometimes told that the family is the basic institution in Chinese education. Yet, as a matter of fact, in the technique of education the family has little share. Mr. W. A. P. Martin, in his sketch of Chinese education prepared for the United States Bureau of Education, declares that

"mothers and nurses are not taught to read; nor are fathers less inclined than with us to leave the work of

⁹⁶ Macnamara, *Evolution and Function of Living Purposive Matter*, 199-200. It may be objected that the Brehon Code, much of which was written as late as the twelfth or thirteenth century, has no ethnic value in our discussion. Yet, as Professor Cherry remarks, it "is extremely ancient; and the most archaic principles prevailed in it centuries after they had disappeared elsewhere" (*Evolution of Criminal Law*, 18).

instruction to be begun by the professional teacher. This they are the more disposed to do, as an ancient maxim, sanctioned by Chinese authority, *prohibits a parent being the instructor of his own children.*"

In another place Mr. Martin adds: "In general, however, a Chinese home is not a hot-bed for the development of mind." Indeed he considers the Chinese family an institution of positive educational retardation.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ *U. S. Dept. of Educ. Circular of Information No. 1* (Washington, 1877), pp. 12-13, italics not in the original. Cf. Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, 173: "That Chinese children have no proper discipline, that they are not taught to obey their parents, and that as a rule they have no idea of prompt obedience as we understand it, is a most indubitable fact attested by wide experience." In defense of this easy-going policy of non-interference, the Chinese say that "the crooked tree, when it is large, will straighten itself."

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

WE are perhaps now in a position to determine the net results of the "appeal to the past" made by the protagonists of familial instruction as the type and basis of all education. (1) In the first place it is plain that much of primitive education is self-education. The various agencies of instruction only aid the process of self-learning. For with Professor Dewey we believe that "in the educational transaction, the initiative lies with the learner even more than in commerce it lies with the buyer." But it is equally clear that primitive men did not relegate the learner wholly to the school of experience; and that very early in the world's history they began to short-cut experience and formulate it into more or less definite subjects, methods, and agencies of instruction. (2) In Chapter I we saw that primitive conditions surrounding the struggle for existence, and savage mental outfit, were scarcely favorable to an exalted ideal of family life; nor did they permit of orderly family instruction. The obscure sense of personality, fleeting memory, dullness of sensibilities, and other traits were not calculated to admit of much in the way of conscious, reflective education, familial or

otherwise. (3) In Chapters II and III it developed that the marital bond originated and endured, not primarily for the benefit of the offspring, but rather for the advantage of the parents. Women and children were usually sought after as aids in the struggle for life, not for themselves, or for the mere pleasure of their company. The economic equaled, and perhaps even subordinated, the genesic or procreative motives. Indeed, it is probably true that the primary interests of husband and wife, of parent and child, were, and still remain, antagonistic, and could only be brought into harmony by pressure of other interests and forces. The content of both marital and parental relations has always been largely a social matter; biology furnishes the minimum measure, but society must fill it up and give it flavor. Furthermore, monogamic pairing, which is usually assumed by the supporters of familial education, is by no means proved. The evidence points to the reverse, and establishes at least that primitive marriage was either so unstable, or organized on such a basis as to preclude that free play of parental influence so essential to home education. (4) If monogamous pairing is not an innate instinct, nor even a thoroughly acquired characteristic, no more are the parental and filial relations genuine instincts. In Chapter IV we saw the hazy notions of kinship and relationship entertained by primitive peoples. We saw that a full triangular relationship between parents themselves, between each of them and the child, and between the child and both his parents, is a comparatively late development. We noted the strong sense of clan or tribal kinship predominating over what we consider the natural relationships. Certain

devices and fictions (*e. g.*, couvade) had to be invoked to establish the latter. Abundant evidence was produced in Chapter V to prove that primitive parental regard and affection were rather biologic, emotional, self-gratifying, than rational or conducive to the child's own welfare. Still further, it was shown that in many cases parental love and care were utterly lacking. And, what is still more to the point, that primitive parenthood, loving or otherwise, brought with it, *per se*, no capacity for maintaining the child's life or giving him adequate and fitting nurture. Again, the child was in general regarded as a *plaything*, or a merchantable *thing*, or a *thing* out of which service might be extracted. And on the side of the child, it appeared that filial attachment and respect were not innate instincts, but only developed with the general advance of intelligence and feeling. On the whole, we concluded from this portion of our study that the function of the primitive family was rather biologic and economic than educational. Furthermore, in Chapters VI and VII by a study, through comparison and elimination, of forces and agencies actually at work in primitive education, we found that the aim, the content, the methods, and the organization of primitive instruction were predominantly public and communal in their nature; and that the family occupied only a subordinate position in education. Even the province where domestic education appeared at its best, *viz.*, vocational instruction, is often invaded by group agencies. And the various puberty ceremonies, initiations, and paraphernalia of moral instruction, which we found to be supremely important, are pre-eminently group activities. In practically every case, save where

the group coincided with the family, we found the group as the constant background and arbiter of the individual's training; and this held good, whether education was mere unconscious imitation and absorption, or whether it had been crystallized and consciously administered by appropriate agencies. Finally, it cannot be blinked that very frequently traits and habits fostered, or at least permitted, by family training, were distinctly inimical to both social and individual welfare, and that other group agencies were burdened with the task of overlaying or extirpating them. We in no wise pretend to have drawn all the educational or sociological conclusions from the evidence presented. Suffice it to have shown that those who would make the family the type and foundation of all education, "because it is the unit and basis of society," or "because it is divine and therefore *a priori* superior to any other educational institution," or because "it has always been so," are really spending their time and energy, like the great fish Jasaconius of Irish monastery legend, in chasing their tails.

It seems perfectly evident that the structure and function of the family have changed and may continue to change. With regard to its future as a social institution we shall not hazard a dogmatic assumption. But until "spiritual conception" becomes the rule instead of the legendary exception, until that millennium breaks upon a regenerated world where universal brotherhood is a reality and not a metaphor, until then the family, perhaps more or less modified from its present form, will remain one of our greatest, even though not model, educational assets. And we will

save ourselves from much fruitless endeavor to evoke from social institutions educational services which they cannot yield, we will spare ourselves much criticism of these institutions because of their inability to rise to our demands, we will promote the efficiency of other institutions, by frankly admitting the educational limitations of family life. It is altogether likely that social evolution is bringing about a somewhat new division of labor among social institutions, and that to the family will be allotted a more transcendent and valuable rôle than it has heretofore played. How largely educational that rôle will be is a matter rather of speculation than prediction.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABEL, C. W., *Savage Life in New Guinea*, London, 1902.
American Journal of Sociology, 1895—date.
- AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., New York, 1900.
- AM UR-QUELL, *Monatschrift f. Volkskunde*, 6 vols., Hamburg, 1890-6.
L'Année Sociologique, 11 vols., Paris, 1896-1909.
L'Anthropologie, vol. i.-xix., Paris, 1890 ff.
Anthropos, 6 vols., St. Gabriel-Mödling, 1906 ff.
- APPLETON, L. ESTELLE, *A Comparative Study of the Play Activities of Adult Savages and Civilized Children*, Chicago, 1910.
Archiv für Anthropologie, 36 vols., Braunschweig, 1866 ff.
- ARNOLD, MATTHEW, *Mixed Essays, Irish Essays and Others*, Macmillan ed., New York, 1904.
Das Ausland, München, Stuttgart, etc., 1828-93 (merged with *Globus* in 1893).
- BACHOFEN, J. J., *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861.
- BAEGERT, FATHER JACOB, *Nachrichten*, etc., transl. as "An Account of the Aboriginal Inhab. of the Calif. Peninsula," for *Smithson. Rep.*, 1863, 1864.
- BAGLEY, W. G., *The Educative Process*, New York, 1905.
- BANCROFT, H. H., *The Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, 5 vols., New York, 1874-6.
- BANDELIER, ADOLPH, *The Delight Makers*, New York, 1890.
- BARTH, P., *Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie*, Leipzig, 1897.
 "Die Geschichte der Erziehung in sociologische Beleuchtung" (in *Vierteljahrschrift f. wissens. Philos.*, 24 Jahrgang, Leipzig, 1900).
- BASTIAN, ADOLF, *Afrikanische Reisen*, Bremen, 1859.
- BEAUVALLET, *Étude Historique sur la patria potestas, considérée dans ses effets sur la personne et les biens de l'enfant*, Paris, 1908.

232 Primitive Family and Education

- BENTLEY, W. H., *Life on the Congo*, London, 1887.
- BISHOP, MRS. ISABELLA, *Among the Thibetans*, New York, 1894.
- BOAS, F., "Central Eskimo," in *Bur. Ethnol. Report*, vi.
 "The Mind of Primitive Man," in *Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*,
 xiv., 1-11.
- "Sagen der Indianer in Nordwest-America," in *Ztschft f.*
Ethnol., xxiv., xxvi.
- The Mind of Primitive Man*, Macmillan, New York, 1911.
- BONAPARTE, PRINCE ROLAND, *Les Habitants de Suriname*, Paris, 1884.
- BOSANQUET, HELEN, *The Family*, London, 1906.
- BRINTON, D. G., *The Myths of the New World*, New York, 1868.
- BROWNE, JOHN CAVE, *Indian Infanticide, Its Origin*, etc., London, 1857.
- BRUNACHE, P., *Le Centre de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1894.
- BÜCHER, KARL, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, 2^e Aufl., Leipzig,
 1897; the same transl. as "Industrial Evolution," New York, 1901.
- BUCKLEY, E., *Phallicism in Japan*, Chicago, 1895.
- BUISSON, F., *Dictionnaire de pédagogie*, etc., 3 vols., Paris, 1882-7.
- Bulletins de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 22 vols., Paris, 1866 ff.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, *Annual Reports*, Washington, 1881,
 ff.; also *Bulletins* of the same.
- BURROWS, CAPT. GUY, *The Land of the Pigmies*, London, 1898.
- BURTON, SIR RICHARD F., *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, New
 York, 1860.
- CHAMBERLAIN, A. F., *The Child and Childhood in Folk-Thought*, New
 York, 1896.
- CHEVILLET, *Les Enfants assistés à travers l'histoire*, Paris, 1903.
- CHOLLET, *Des Limitations de la puissance paternelle sur la personne de
 l'enfant*, Paris, 1897.
- CODRINGTON, R., *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891.
- Contributions to North Amer. Ethnol.*, vols. i., ii., iii., iv., ix., Washington,
 1877 ff.
- COOK, CAPT. JAS., *Journal during his First Voyage*, etc., edited by Whar-
 ton, London, 1893.
- A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, etc., 3 vols., Dublin,
 1784.
- COULANGES, FUSTEL DE, *La Cité Antiqué*, 2^e ed., Paris, 1885.
- CRANTZ, DAVID, *The History of Greenland*, etc., transl., 2 vols., London,
 1767.
- CRAWFURD, JOHN, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, 3 vols., Edinburgh,
 1820.

- CRAWLEY, E., *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902.
- CURR, E. M., *The Australian Race*, 4 vols., Melbourne and London, 1886-7.
- CUSHING, F. H., "Primitive Motherhood," in *The Work and Words of the First National Congress of Mothers*, Washington, 1897, pp. 21-47.
- DARWIN, C. *Descent of Man*, 2 vols., New York, 1871.
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS, *A History of Education*, New York, 1900.
- DEAHL, J. N., *Imitation in Education*, New York, 1900.
- DENIKER, J., *The Races of Man*, London, 1900.
- DEWEY, JOHN, "Interpretation of Savage Mind," in *Psychol. Rev.*, ix., 217 ff.
- DOWD, J., *The Negro Races*, New York, 1907.
- DRESSLAR, F. B., *Superstition and Education*, Berkeley, 1907 (Univ. of California Publ., vol. 5).
- DU CHAILLU, P., *The Viking Age*, 2 vols., New York, 1889.
- DUNCAN, J., *Travels in West Africa in 1845 and 1846*, etc., London, 1847.
- EASTMAN, C. E., *Indian Boyhood*, New York, 1902.
- EELS, REV. M., "The Twana Indians of the Skokomish Reservation," in *Bulletin U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Survey of the Territories*, vol. iii., No. 1, 1877.
- ELEUTHEROPOULOS, ABROTELES, *Soziologie*, 2^e Aufl., Jena, 1908.
- ELLIS, A. B., *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, etc., London, 1894.
The Ewe-Speaking Peoples, etc., London, 1890.
- ELLIS, REV. WM., *Polynesian Researches*, 4 vols., London, 1831.
- EWALD, G. H. A. VON, *The Antiquities of Israel* (transl. Solly), London, 1876.
- EYRE, E. J., *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, 2 vols., London, 1845.
- FEATHERMAN, A., *Social History of the Races of Mankind* (3 vols.—1st div., 3d div., 5th div.), London, 1881-90.
- FINSCH, O., *Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee*, Wien, 1893.
- FISKE, JOHN, *Excursions of an Evolutionist* (vol. vii. of Boston, 1902, ed.). *Myths and Mythmakers* (vol. v. of Boston, 1902, ed.).
- FISON, L., and HOWITT, A. W., *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne and London, 1881.
- FLANDRAU, C. M., *Viva Mexico!*, New York, 1908.
- FORBES, H. O., *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, London, 1885.

234 Primitive Family and Education

- FRAZER, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, 2 vols., London, and New York, 1890.
Totemism and Exogamy, 4 vols., London, 1910.
 "The Beginnings of Religion and Totemism," etc.,
Fortnightly Rev., vol. 78, N. S., pp. 162-72, 452-66.
- FRIES, TH. M., *Grönland dess Natur och Invonare*, Upsala, 1872.
- FRITSCH, G. T., *Die Eingebornen Südafrikas anatomisch u. ethnographisch beschrieben*, Breslau, 1872.
- FROBENIUS, L., *Die Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas*, Leipzig, 1898.
- FURNESS, W. H., 3d, *The Home-Life of the Borneo Head-Hunters*, Philadelphia, 1902.
- FYNN, A. J., *The American Indian as a Product of Environment*, Boston, 1907.
- GASTAMBIDE, M., *L'enfant devant la famille et l'état*, Paris, 1902.
- GATSCHET, A. G., "The Klamath Indians," in *Contr. to N. A. Ethn.*, vol. ii.
- GIBBS, GEO., "Indians of Western Washington," etc., in *Contr. to N. A. Ethn.*, vol. i.
- GIDE, PAUL, *Étude sur la condition de la femme dans le droit ancien et moderne*, 2^e ed., Paris, 1885.
- GIRAUD-TEULON, A. (fils), *Les Origines du Mariage et de la Famille*, Geneva and Paris, 1884.
- Globus, *Illustrierte Zeitschrift f. Länder- u. Völkerkunde*, vol. i. + Braunschweig, 1862 ff.
- GOMME, G. L., *Folklore as an Historical Science*, London, 1908.
- GÖTZEN, GRAF G. A. VON, *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West*, Berlin, 1895.
- GRASBERGER, LORENZ, *Erziehung u. Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum*, 3 vols., Würzburg, 1864-81.
- GRAVES, F. P., *A History of Education before the Middle Ages*, New York, 1909.
- GREY, SIR GEORGE, *Polynesian Mythology*, etc., 2d ed., Auckland, 1885.
- GRINNELL, G. B., *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, New York, 1892.
Pawnee Hero-Stories, etc., New York, 1889.
- GROOS, KARL, *The Play of Animals*, transl., New York, 1898.
The Play of Man, transl., New York, 1901.
- HAARHOFF, B. J., *Die Bantu-Stämme Süd-Afrikas*, Leipzig, 1890.
- HAGEN, B., *Unter den Papua's*, etc., Wiesbaden, 1899.
- HAILMANN, W. N., "Education of the Indian," in Butler's compilation, *Education in the United States*, vol. ii., Albany, 1900.
- HALL, G. S., *Adolescence*, etc., 2 vols., New York, 1907.

- HARDY, N. H. and E. W. ELKINGTON, *The Savage South Seas*, London, 1907.
- HARTLAND, E. S., *Primitive Paternity*, 2 vols., London, 1910.
- HAWKESWORTH, JOHN, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken . . . by Capt. Cook, etc.*, 3 vols., London, 1773.
- HELLWALD, F. A. H., VON, *Die Menschliche Familie*, etc., Leipzig, 1888.
- HENDERSON, E. N., *A Text Book in the Principles of Education*, New York, 1910.
- HENNEPIN, PÈRE LOUIS, *Description de la Louisiane; Les Mœurs des Sauvages*, Paris, 1688.
- HOLUB, E., *Sieben Jahre in Süd Afrika, 1872-9*, 2 Bde., Wien, 1881.
- HOPKINS, E. W., *The Religions of India*, Boston, 1895.
- HOWARD, G. E., *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1904.
- HOWITT, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, London, 1904.
- HUGUENIN, P., *Raiatea la Sacrée*, Neuchâtel, 1902.
- IHERING, R. VON, *The Evolution of the Aryan*, London, 1894.
- IM THURN, E. F., *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883.
- Internationales Archiv f. Ethnographie*, 17 vols., Leiden, 1888 ff.
- JENKS, A. E., *The Bontoc Igorot*, U. S. Dept. of the Inter. Ethnol. Survey Publ., vol. i., Manila, 1905.
- JOHNSON, R. F., *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, New York, 1910.
- JOHNSTON, SIR HARRY, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 2 vols., London and New York, 1902.
- JOLLY, J., *Les Seconds Mariages*, Paris, 1896.
- JOLY, H., *Man before Metals*, New York, 1883.
- Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (J. A. I.)*, 39 vols., London, 1871 ff.
- KELLER, A. G., *Homeric Society*, New York, 1902.
- KENNAN, G., *Tent Life in Siberia*, New York, 1910.
- KER, ANNIE, *Papuan Fairy Tales*, London, 1910.
- KIDD, DUDLEY, *Savage Childhood*, London, 1906.
- The Essential Kafir*, London, 1904.
- KING, IRVING, *The Development of Religion*, New York, 1910.
- KINGSLEY, MARY, *West African Studies*, London, 1899.
- Travels in West Africa*, London, 1897.
- KRAUSS, F. S., *Volks Glaube und Religiöser Brauche der Süd-Slaven*, Münster, 1890.
- KRIEGER, M., *New-Guinea*, Berlin, 1899.

236 Primitive Family and Education

- LAFITAU, J. F., *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, Paris, 1724.
- LA HONTAN, BARON DE, "Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale"
(Tome ii. of *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amér. Sept.*), 1724.
- LALLEMAND, L., *Histoire de la charité*, 4 vols., Paris, 1902-9.
- LANDOR, A. H. S., *Across Widest Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1907.
- LANG, ANDREW, *Social Origins*, London, 1903.
The Secret of the Totem, London, 1905.
- LANG, J. D., *Queensland*, etc., London, 1861.
- LATHAM, R. G., *Man and His Migrations*, New York, 1852.
- LAURIE, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, London, 1895.
- LAWSON, JOHN, *The History of Carolina*, etc., London, 1714 (reprinted at Raleigh, 1860).
- LECKY, W. E. H., *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, 3d ed., New York, 1877.
- LECOUR, C. J., *La Prostitution à Paris et à Londres 1789-1871*, Paris, 1872.
- LE PLAY, F., *F. Le Play d'après lui-même, vie, méthode, doctrine. Notices et morceaux choisis* (Aubertin), Paris, 1906.
- LETOURNEAU, J. M., *L'évolution de l'éducation dans les diverses races humaines*, Paris, 1898.
The Evolution of Marriage and of the Family, transl., London, 1891.
L'évolution de la Morale, Paris, 1887.
- LEVY-BRUHL, L., *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, Paris, 1910.
- LEWIN, CAPT. T. H., *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, London, 1870.
- LEWIS and CLARKE, *Travels*, etc., 3 vols., London, 1815.
- LIPPERT, J., *Kulturgeschichte*, 2 Bd., Stuttgart, 1886.
Die Geschichte der Familie, Stuttgart, 1884.
- LORIA, A., *La Sociologia* (Germ. transl. by Heiss), Jena, 1901.
- LOSKIEL, G. H., *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, transl., London, 1794.
- LUBBOCK, SIR J., *Prehistoric Times*, 2d ed., London, 1869.
The Origin of Civilization, etc., London, 1870.
Marriage, Totemism and Religion, London, 1911.
- LUMMIS, C. F., *The Man Who Married the Moon, and Other Pueblo Indian Folk Stories*, New York, 1894.
The Land of Poco Tiempo, London, 1893.
- McGEE, W. J., and THOMAS, CYRUS, "Prehistoric North America"
(vol. 19 of Thorpe's *History of North America*), Philadelphia, 1905.

- MACKENZIE, J. S., *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, 2d ed., New York, 1895.
- McLENNAN, J. F., *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1876.
Studies in Ancient History, second series, London and New York, 1896.
- MACNAMARA, N. C., *The Evolution and Function of Living Purposive Matter*, London, 1910.
- MAINE, SIR HENRY, *Ancient Law*, 3d Am. ed., New York, 1873.
- Man, London, 1901 ff.
- MARTIN, W. A. P., "Chinese Education" (U. S. Dept. of Educ., *Circ. of Inf. No. 1*), Washington, 1877.
- MARTIUS, C. F. P. VON, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens*, 1^{er} Band, Leipzig, 1867.
- MASON, O. T., *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, New York, 1894.
The Origins of Invention, London, 1895.
- MASSEY, GERALD, *The Natural Genesis*, 2 vols., London, 1883.
- Matériaux pour l'histoire positive et philosophique de l'homme* (continued as *Matér. p. l'hist. primitive et naturelle de l'h.*) Paris, 1865-88.
- MÉNARD, R., *La Vie Privée des Anciens*, 4 vols., Paris, 1880-3.
- MERRIAM, C. H., *The Dawn of the World*, Cleveland, 1910.
- MONROE, P., *A Text Book in the History of Education*, New York, 1905.
- MORGAN, L. H., *Ancient Society*, New York, 1877.
 "Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines" (vol. iv., *Contr. to N. A. Ethnol.*), Washington, 1881.
- MUCKE, J. H., *Horde und Familie*, etc., Stuttgart, 1895.
- NADAILLAC, MARQUIS DE, *Prehistoric America*, transl., New York, 1884.
- NASSAU, R. H., *Fetichism in West Africa*, New York, 1904.
- NELSON, W., *The Indians of New Jersey*, Paterson, 1894.
- OKUMA, COUNT, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, 2 vols., New York, 1909.
- D'ORBIGNY, ALCIDE, *Voyage dans les Deux Amériques*, etc., Paris, 1853.
- PARSONS, ELSIE C., *The Family*, New York, 1906.
- PAULITSCHKE, P., *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1893-6.
- PAYNE, E. J., *History of the New World called America*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1892-9.
- PESCHEL, O. F., *The Races of Man*, London, 1876.
- PFEIL, J. J., *Studien u. Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, Braunschweig, 1899.

238 Primitive Family and Education

- PINKERTON, J., *Voyages (Collection of)*, 17 vols., London, 1808-14.
- PLOSS, H., *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte der Völker*, 2 Bd., 2^e Aufl., Leipzig, 1884.
- POMMEROL, MME. JEAN, *Une Femme chez les Sahariennes*, Paris (also transl. as "Among the Women of the Sahara," London, 1900).
- Pope Leo XIII, *The Great Encyclical Letters of*, transl. by Wynne, New York, 1903.
- POSADA, A., *Théories modernes sur les origines de la Famille, de la Société et de l'État*, Paris, 1896.
- POST, A. H., *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, Leipzig, 1889.
Die Geschlechtsgenossenschaft der Urzeit und die Entstehung der Ehe, Oldenburg, 1875.
 "Hausgenossenschaften" (in *Das Ausland*, 1891).
- POWERS, S., "Tribes of California" (vol. iii., *Contr. to N. A. Ethnol.*).
- PRATT, A. E., *Two Years Among New Guinea Cannibals*, Philadelphia, 1906.
- PURVIS, J. B., *Through Uganda to Mount Elgon*, London, 1909.
- DE QUATREFAGES, A., *Hommes fossiles et Hommes sauvages*, Paris, 1884.
- RAMPAL, *De la condition de l'enfant dans le droit public ancien et moderne*, Marseilles, 1896.
- RASMUSSEN, KNUD, *The People of the Polar North: a record compiled from the Danish originals by C. Herring*, London, 1908.
- RATZEL, F., *The History of Mankind*, transl., 3 vols., New York, 1896.
- RECLUS, E., *Primitive Folk*, New York, 1891.
- REIN, W., *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*, Langensalza, 1904.
- Report of the Cambridge Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Strait*, vol. iii., 1908.
- Revue d'Ethnographie*, vol. i.-viii., Paris, 1882 ff.
- RICHTER, JEAN PAUL, *Levana oder Erziehlehre*, Stuttgart, 1845.
- RIGGS, S. R., "Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography" (vol. ix. *Contr. to N. A. Ethn.*).
- ROBINSON, DR. LOUIS, "The Primitive Child," in *North Am. Rev.*, vol. 159.
- ROSSBACH, A., *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehe-Denkmäler*, Leipzig, 1871.
- ROTH, HENRY LING, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 2 vols., London, 1896.
- SAINT JOHN, SIR SPENSER, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, 2 vols., London, 1862.
- SARASIN, P. and F., *Die Weddahs von Ceylon*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1893.

- SAUMADE, *Histoire de la puissance paternelle sur la personne de l'enfant*, Montpellier, 1893.
- SCHÄFFLE, A., *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*, 2 ed., Tübingen, 1896.
Abriss der Sociologie, Tübingen, 1906.
- SCHMID, K. A., *Encyclopädia der gesamten Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens*, Gotha, 1876-87.
- SCHMIDT, C., *La Société Civile dans le Monde Romain et sa Transformation par le Christianisme*, Strassbourg, 1853.
- SCHOMBURGK, R., *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana in den Jahren 1840-1844*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1847-8.
- SCHOOLCRAFT, H. R., *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the Hist., Cond., and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of U. S.*, 6 vols., Philadelphia, 1851-7.
- SCHRADER, O., *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, transl. London, 1890.
- SCHWEINFURTH, G. A., *The Heart of Africa* (transl.), 2 vols., New York, 1874.
- SELIGMANN, C. G., *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910.
- SEMON, R., *In the Australian Bush, and on the coast of the Coral Sea*, London, 1899.
- SHORT, J. T., *The North Americans of Antiquity*, New York, 1880.
- SIEROSHEVSKY, "The Yakuts," abridged and transl. by Prof. W. G. Sumner, reprinted from xxxi. *J. A. I.*
- SKEAT, W. W., *Malay Magic*, London, 1900.
- SKEAT, W. W., and BLAGDEN, C. O., *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, 2 vols., London, 1906.
- SMITH, A. D., *Through Unknown African Countries*, London and New York, 1897.
- SMITH, A. H., *Chinese Characteristics*, New York, 1894.
- SMITH, E. R., *The Araucanians*, New York, 1855.
- SMITH, WM. ROBERTSON, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885.
- Smithsonian Institute, Reports of the*, 1863, 1864, 1888, 1893, 1896.
- SMYTH, R. B., *The Aborigines of Victoria*, etc., 2 vols., London and Melbourne, 1878.
- SPENCER, F. C., *Education of the Pueblo Child*, New York, 1899.
- SPENCER, H., *Principles of Sociology*, 3 vols., New York, 1897.
Descriptive Sociology, New York, 8 vols., 1873 ff.
Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical, New York, 1886.

240 Primitive Family and Education

- SPENCER, W. B., and GILLEN, F. J., *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1899.
Northern Tribes of Central Australia, London, 1904.
- SPIEGEL, F. VON, *Erönische Alterthumskunde*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1871-8.
- SPIX and MARTIUS, *Reise in Brasilien, 1817-1820*, München, 1831.
- SPROAT, G. M., *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, London, 1868.
- STAMMLER, C., *Ueber die Stellung der Frauen im alten deutschen Recht.*, Berlin, 1877.
- STARCKE, O. N., *The Primitive Family*, New York, 1889.
- STEIN, LUDWIG, *Die Sociale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie*, Stuttgart, 1897.
- STEINEN, KARL VON DEN, *Shingu Tribes* (Berlin Museum, 1888).
- STEINMETZ, S. R., *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, 2 vols., Leyden, 1894.
 "Das Verhältniss zwischen Eltern u. Kindern bei den Naturvölkern" (in *Ztschft. f. Socialwissenschaft*, vol. i., 1898).
- STEVENSON, R. L., *In the South Seas* (Scribner ed., New York, 1896).
- STEVENSON, MRS. T. E., "Religious Life of the Zuni Child," in *Bur. Ethnol.*, v.
- STORCK, KARL, *Der Tanz*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1903.
- STRABO, *Geography*, transl. for Bohn's Class. Libr., 3 vols., London, 1889-1892.
- SUTHERLAND, A., *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, 2 vols., London, 1898.
- THEAL, GEO. M., *Kaffir Folk-Lore*, London, 1882.
- THOMAS, C. (in conference with W J McGee), "The Indians of North America in Historic Times" (vol. ii. of Lee and Thorpe's *Hist. of N. Am.*), Philadelphia, 1903.
- THOMAS, N. W., *Kinship Organizations and Group Marriage in Australia*, Cambridge, 1906.
- THOMAS, W. I., *Source Book for Social Origins*, Chicago, 1909.
Sex and Society, Chicago, 1907.
- THOUAR, E. A., *Explorations dans l'Amérique du Sud*, Paris, 1891.
- THURSTON, E., *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras, 1906.

- TYLOR, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, 4th ed., 2 vols., London, 1903.
Early History of Mankind, 2d ed., London, 1870.
 "On a Method of Investigating the Development of
 Institutions," etc., in xviii. *J. A. I.*
Anthropology, new edition, New York, 1909.
- VASSAL, GABRIELLE, M., *On and Off Duty in Annam*, London, 1910.
- WAITZ, T., *Introduction to Anthropology*, transl. Collingwood, London, 1863.
- WAKE, C. S., *The Development of Marriage and Kinship*, London, 1889.
- WALLACE, ALFRED R., *The Malay Archipelago*, New York, 1869.
- WALLASCHEK, R., *Primitive Music*, London, 1893.
- WEBSTER, HUTTON, *Primitive Secret Societies*, New York, 1908.
- WERNER, A., *British Central Africa*, London, 1906.
- WESTERMARCK, E., *A History of Human Marriage*, 2d ed, New York, 1894.
- WHETHAM, W. C. D., and CATHERINE D., *The Family and The Nation*, London, 1909.
- WHITNEY, W. D., *Language and the Study of Language*, New York, 1867.
- WILLIAMS, T., and CALVERT, J., *Fiji and the Fijians*, New York, 1859.
- WORMS, RÉNÉ, *Organisme et Société*, Paris, 1895.
- WUTTKE, A., *Geschichte des Heidenthums*, etc., 2 vols., Breslau, 1852-3.
- YEATS, W. B., *The Celtic Twilight*, London, 1902.
- Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 41 vols., Berlin, 1869 ff.
- Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1898 ff.
- Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1878 ff.
- Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1860 ff.
- ZENKER, V., *Die Gesellschaft*, vol. ii., Berlin, 1903.
- ZIEGLER, TH., *Geschichte der Pädagogie*, München, 1895.

SUBJECT INDEX

A

Abortion, 124
 Adoption, 118, 128
 Adultery, 37, 47-8
 Aged, treatment of, in savagery, 131
 Aggressiveness fostered in children, 159-60
 Aims of savage education, 143-6, 188
 Ancestor worship, 5, 172
 Animal traits in primitive parent-hood, 95-6, 113-4
 Apathetic monogamy, 44

B

Babies, primitive notions on ori-gins of, 64 *ff.*
 Bachelors' houses, 87
 Brehon Code, 224

C

Cannibalism, funeral, 74
 of children, 85, 124-6
 Chastity lacking, 40, 46
 Child-labor laws, 101
 Children, cruelty to, 114-5
 deformed, treatment of, 126
 despots, 157-8
 early maturity of, 108-9, 154, 199
 eaten, 85
 exchanged, 223
 given away, 114
 mortality of, 119, 121 *ff.*
 neglected, 113, 143, 150-1
 not valued for *themselves*, 104
 pawned, 116

property, 100 *ff.*, 118, 228
 sacrificed, 115
 sold, 96, 104, 112-3, 116-7
 spoiled, 96, 99, 132-3, 154 *ff.*
 Chinese family retards education, 225
 Circumcision no evidence of sex understanding, 75
 and education, 196, 222
 Clan tie stronger than family, 58-9
 Classification of primitive peoples on basis of education, 148-9
 Codex Mendoza, 182, 191
 Collective marriage, 29
 "Contact" theory of society, 15-7
 Content of savage education, 146-80
 Corporal punishment, not the rule in savagery, 153 *ff.*
 examples of, 191-2
 Couvade, 75-8, 139, 228
 Creation myths, primitive ideas of procreation in, 65 *ff.*
 Crying, function of, 107-8
 Curriculum or course of studies, primitive, 146-8, 165, 166, 176, 178
 Curse as discipline, 189

D

Dancing, 147, 178, 180, 205, 213 *ff.*
 Directed imitation, 182 *ff.*, 209, 216
 Discipline, 152, 176, 190-2
 lack of, 152, 153, 154 *ff.*, 225
 Disobedience encouraged, 132-3
 Divorce, 39
 Domestic education, 164-6, 171, 183, 228

Domestic happiness lacking, 44-5
 Drill, 147, 184 *ff.*, 216
 Dullness of savage sensibilities, 10,
 134-6, 226

E

Endurance tests, 115, 193, 197
 Exchanging wives, 38
 Exhortation in savage education,
 185-6, 216

F

Family, arises from child-bearing
 and food-quest, 18
 biologic and economic func-
 tion of, 140
 changes, 12, 229-30
 defined, 20
 economic arrangement, 18-9
 educational function, 53-4
 feeling weak, 41, 111
 foundation of the state, 2
 fundamental school, 2, 3, 4
 fundamental social institu-
 tion, 3
 hinders social discipline, 161-
 3, 229
 lack of terms for in primitive
 language, 81
 not a natural institution, 19
 origin of, 18-9
 prehistoric, 104 *ff.*
 prior to marriage, 21
 rôle in evolution, 13
 sequence of forms, 52
 share in vocational training,
 163-6
 size of savage, 108
 "social cell," 13-4
 subordinate to group, 57, 90
 ties temporary, 108-10
 Father-family, 83
 right, 200
 share in reproduction ignored,
 70
 the parent, 84 *ff.*
 Fear as educational method, 187 *ff.*,
 216
 Fertility a blessing, 100
 Filial sentiment, lack of, 129 *ff.*,
 228

Fire and kinship, 57
 Food and kinship, 57
 Forethought, savage lack of, 137-8
 "Fosterage," 222-4
 Free love, 42
 Funeral cannibalism, 73

G

Ghosts and ghost-fear in educa-
 tion, 187-8
 Girls, education of, 164-6, 185
 Group communism, 36
 interest in education, 175 *ff.*,
 217 *ff.*
 marriage, 28 *ff.*, 79
 parenthood, 80

H

Habit-forming an aim of savage
 education, 143-4
 "Hardening" process, 120, 168
 Head-Hunters, 168-71, 177-8
 Hetairism, 24, 27
Husquenaugh, 201-3, 206

I

Ignorance of child hygiene, 118-
 21, 139
 Imitation, 181 *ff.*, 209
 Incest, 28
 Individual, social unit, 14
 subordinated to group, 31-2
 Infant mortality, 119-21
 Infanticide, 18, 126-9, 207
 Initiation, 30, 88, 89, 147, 175, 176,
 192, 196, 198, 199 *ff.*, 216, 218,
 228
 Intercourse ignored as cause of
 reproduction, 72
 Interests of parent and child
 antagonistic, 18

J

Jus primæ noctis, 29

K

Kindergarten encroaches on
 family, 2

Kinship and relationship distinguished, 55
acquired by ceremonials, 89

L

Love, plays no part in savage matrimony, 19
no such word in Papuan tongue, 113
of offspring slight, 112

M

Magic as discipline, 160-1
Magical plays, 213
Magicians, school for, 178
"Margin of refusal," 144
Marriage, absence of moral element in, 45
Anglo-Saxon, 22
brittle, 35, 38, 40
business arrangement, 22, 44, 227
distinguished from family, 21
lax, 35
preparation for, 195, 197
unstable, 138, 227
Maternal descent, 65
Medicine-man, 172
woman, 174-5
Memoriter methods, 181
Memory, feeble primitive, 10, 91-3, 226
Men's house, 61, 86, 181, 218, 220-1
Metempsychosis, 70
Methods of savage education, 181-217
Mexico, loose sex relations in, 42
Mimetic plays, 184
Monogamy, divine, 34
not innate, 34
of Veddahs, 27
primitive, 44
Moral education, 171 ff.
Mores, 11, 18, 20, 42, 43, 46, 171, 189, 199, 222
Mortuary customs, an index of parental regard, 98
economic effects of, 147
Mother-right, 200

insulted by children, 158, 163
the parent, 58-9, 71 ff.
Multiple parenthood, 80

N

Nature-study, primitive, 178-9, 185
Nunu, Melanesian theory of, 70-1

O

Obtuseness, savage, 134-6
Oratory as education, 186
Ordeals, 147, 193, 199
Organization of savage education, 217-25

P

Pairing instinct, 19
Parental affection, 93 ff.
not universal, 110, 117, 228
among animals, 93-4
discipline lacking, 154 ff., 225
indifference and cruelty, 110 ff.
instinct, 94, 129, 139
relation, a fruit of culture, 14
sequence of, 64
unstable, 139
sentiment, 93
Passion or temper common motive for discipline, 155-61
Paternal relationship ignored, 74
Paternity, rise of, 83 ff.
Patria potestas, 102, 116
Patriarchate, 110, 139
Phallicism, 75
Physical training, 166-71
Pirrauru, 31
Play, 142, 164, 208 ff., 216
Polyandry, 40, 48
Polygamy, 19, 48 ff.
Polygyny, 49
Practical nature of savage education, 145-6
Priesthood, educational rôle of, 172, 175, 199, 219, 220
Primitive ideas on procreation, 65 ff.
men not pure egoists, 15, 107
mind, 8-9

Primitive, sense of "self" or personality, 10, 226
 Procreation, hazy ideas of savages on, 67 *ff.*
 Promiscuity, human, 24 *ff.*, 34, 37, 40, 46, 64
 denied, 27 *ff.*
 intermittent, 35
 sub-human, 23-4
 Propinquity, 36
 Prostitution, 19, 34, 36
 Puberty rites, 88, 175, 192 *ff.*, 228
 Public assembly and education, 222
 Punishment, primitive ideas on, 155-7
 Punaluan marriage, 28

R

Reformation, Kafir methods of, 160-1
 Reincarnation, Melanesian ideas of, 70
 Relationship, primitive notions of, 55 *ff.*, 73, 86, 139, 227
 terms of, 78 *ff.*
 Religion, 145, 147, 180, 211, 213, 214, 217, 221
 Restraint, lack of in savage children, 153
 Russian brutal discipline, 191

S

Sale of children, 96, 112-3
 Savage parents, affectionate, 96-7
 self-indulgent, 96
 Secret language, 204, 205
 societies, 87, 89, 175, 176, 199, 218-9
 Selection, human, depends on education, 141
 Self-assertiveness encouraged, 153
 education, 182, 216
 savage ideas of, 10
 Sense of sin lacking in savages, 137-8
 Separation of children from parents, 87 *ff.*

Sex jealousy, 27, 31, 36, 37
 license, 30, 31, 205-6
 solidarity, 61, 86
 taboos, 61 *ff.*, 86, 139
 Slavery, children sold into, 117
 Social heredity, 19, 178
 selection, 204
 "Soft pedagogy," 149-53
 Sparing the rod, 153-4
 Spontaneous imitation, 210
 Sterility a curse, 100
 Story-telling, 179, 185-7
 Suckling period, 108
 Superstition in education, 187 *ff.*, 216
 "Survivals" in ethnology, 7
 Sympathetic magic, 76, 78

T

Taboos, 61, 139, 146, 195, 198
 Terms of relationship, 78 *ff.*
 Totemism, 57, 59, 64, 70, 90, 179, 221
 Tradition, 146, 147, 171, 176 *ff.*, 181, 187, 199, 204
 Trial marriage, 37 *ff.*
 Tribal elders, educational rôle of, 172, 175, 199
 share in discipline, 219
 solidarity, 201
 Twins killed, 126-7

U

Unchastity, 26
 Uncle, 60
 Unformulated group discipline, 159

V

Variation, causes of in savage society, 144-5
 Vocational education, 145-6, 163-6, 218, 228

W

Wife, as property, 45, 47-8, 85
 merely tolerates husband, 58-9

AUTHOR INDEX

A

Abel, 113, 153, 158
 Æschylus, 84
 Allison, 97
 Ambrosetti, 156
 Ankermann, 88
 Appleton, 209
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 86
 Aristotle, 20
 Arnold, 162

B

Bachofen, 24, 29, 77, 83
 Baegert, 37, 81, 99, 113, 122, 149, 209
 Bagge, 47, 197
 Bagley, 4
 Bancroft, 41, 117, 132, 133
 Bandelier, 58, 59, 86, 221
 Barbeau, 59
 Barth, 14
 Bastian, 75
 Beauvallet, 116
 Beetz, 2-3
 Bell, 47
 Bennett, 47, 62, 126
 Bent, 75
 Bentley, 90
 Bessel, 114
 Bishop, 97
 Boas, 39, 97, 124
 Bonney, 97
 Bosanquet, 18
 Brehm, 23
 Brentano, 22
 Brinton, 66, 67
 Browne, 129
 Brunache, 97

Bucher, 14, 88, 109, 118
 Buckley, 68, 75
 Burrows, 39, 47, 50, 111
 Burton, 45, 112

C

Campbell, 86
 Catlin, 203, 211
 Chalmers, 30, 206
 Chamberlain, 109, 179, 180, 182
 Cherry, 224
 Chevrier, 47, 90, 199, 220
 Claiborne, 70
 Clement, 222
 Clifford, 79
 Codrington, 39, 70, 77, 82, 88, 97, 210
 Cole, 196
 Compayré, 107
 Comte, 14
 Cook, Captain, 39, 62, 92, 97
 Cook, Miss, 48
 Cosentini, 14
 Coulanges, 20, 100
 Crantz, 25, 26, 50, 94, 97, 100, 114, 120, 154
 Crawford, 19
 Crawford, 97
 Crawley, 16, 17, 27, 30, 56, 57, 62, 63, 64, 77, 78, 108, 197, 199, 219
 Crooke, 47
 Curr, 45, 88, 155, 190, 198, 200, 204, 218
 Cushing, 59, 73, 75, 127, 156, 210

D

Dalton, 88
 Damont, 87

Darwin, 14, 25, 26, 27, 141, 182
 Davidson, 4, 180
 Dawson, 108
 Day, 119
 Decorse, 14
 Delafosse, 97
 Deniker, 27, 214, 216
 Dewey, 91, 226
 Dibble, 115
 D'Orbigny, 26, 63
 Dorsey, 129, 180, 194, 217
 Dowd, 109, 111, 191
 Dresslar, 188
 Du Chaillu, 23, 126, 223
 Duncan, 116
 Durkheim, 9, 79

E

Eastman, 97, 107, 175, 180, 182,
 185, 194, 211, 212
 Eels, 183
 Eleutheropulos, 14
 Ellis, 47, 56, 61, 75, 129, 132, 138,
 158, 180, 183
 Ellwood, 27
 Elton, 153
 Espinas, 13
 Ewald, 116
 Eyre, 129

F

Fages, 183
 Featherman, 97, 112, 118, 127,
 132, 167, 175, 180, 222
 Fewkes, 203
 Finsch, 88, 97, 153, 158
 Fiske, 13
 Fison and Howitt, 29, 31, 88, 190
 Flandrau, 42
 Flower, 97
 Forbes, 97, 110
 Fougères, 220
 Frazer, 32, 59, 66, 70, 71, 72, 77,
 90, 197, 200
 Freire-Marreco, 214
 Frič and Radin, 218
 Fries, 98
 Fritsch, 57, 197
 Frobenius, 180, 221
 Furness, 47, 68, 87, 88, 119, 169,
 178

Fynn, 58, 133, 160, 180, 221

G

Gardiner, 97, 191
 Gason, 155
 Gastambide, 102
 Gibbs, 41, 47, 59, 113, 132, 151, 195
 Giddings, 14
 Gide, 24
 Girard, 48
 Giraud-Teulon, 56, 77
 Gomme, 12, 14, 40, 57, 59, 81, 101
 Götzen, Graf von, 117
 Grabowsky, 97
 Graham, 59
 Granville and Roth, 47, 152
 Grasberger, 211
 Graves, 182
 Grey, 187, 197
 Grinnell, 98, 172, 175, 186
 Groos, 14, 107, 182, 215, 217
 Guimps, Baron de, 4
 Guise, 66, 197
 Gulick, 217
 Gurbutt, 76, 116
 Gurdin, 59

H

Haarhof, 197
 Haddon, 97, 175, 205, 220, 221
 Hagen, 88, 153
 Hailmann, 60, 122
 Hall, 197, 217
 Hardy and Elkington, 180
 Hartland, 59, 75
 Hellwald, 77
 Hennepin, 41, 160, 187
 Henry, 220
 Herbart, 4
 Hodson, 30, 88
 Höfler, 70
 Holland, 186
 Holmes, 201, 208
 Holub, 196
 Hoogers, 132
 Hopkins, 75
 Howard, 18, 23
 Howitt, 28, 74, 85, 129, 199, 200,
 204, 205
 Hubert and Mauss, 178
 Huguenin, 94, 97

Hunt, 129
Hutter, 132

I

im Thurn, 76, 77, 78, 97, 110,
151, 180, 184

J

Jenks, 39, 62, 87, 97, 108, 121, 122,
217
Jerusalem, 79
Jevons, 14
Johnston, Sir H., 47, 48, 62, 75, 87,
97, 98, 108, 110, 112
Johnston, R. F., 40, 117, 129
Jolly, 100
Joly, 126
Joske, 88

K

Keller, 21
Kennan, 97
Ker, 67, 187
Kidd, 8, 61, 69, 127, 134, 160
Kingsley, 97, 126, 132, 138, 197,
204
Koch, 97, 197
Kohler, 29, 79
Krauss, 210
Krieger, 109, 153, 157, 163, 197
Kubary, 110, 151
Kulischer, 30, 90

L

Lafargue, 197
Lafitau, 78
La Hontan, Baron de, 83
Lador, 26, 111
Lang, A., 27, 31, 36, 70, 74, 77
Lang, J. D., 155
Latham, 39
Laurie, 4
Lawson, 41, 46, 90, 156, 186, 203,
217
Layland, 115
Lazarus, 109
Lecky, 116, 132
Leprince, 47, 197

Letourneau, 92, 109, 116, 151,
152, 153, 180, 211
Levy-Bruhl, 9, 79
Lewin, 47, 132, 171, 197, 217, 219
Lewis and Clarke, 48, 66, 120, 156,
159
Lichtenstein, 109
Lippert, 14, 20, 21, 22, 56, 57, 60,
77, 84, 90, 101, 109, 110, 116,
126, 129, 132, 135, 151, 182, 197,
215
Loria, 14
Loskiel, 40, 59, 97, 108, 133, 151,
156, 175, 180, 197
Low, 88
Lubbock, 24, 32, 59, 64, 77, 127,
129
Lumholtz, 97, 111
Lummis, 58, 98, 132, 179, 187

M

MacCauley, 151
Macdonald, 108, 193, 204
Mackenzie, 54
Macnamara, 224
McGee, 44, 59, 74, 97, 159, 197,
213
McKenzie, 70
McLennan, 24, 57
Maine, 8, 13
Man, 38, 47, 98, 129, 157, 164, 197
Marchand, 120
Markham, 194
Marriott, 115
Martin, 224, 225
Marius, von, 112, 117, 132, 151,
156, 197, 198
Mason, 94, 166, 180, 182, 185, 218
Massey, 78
Matthews, 66, 98, 200, 205
Maurer, 75
Ménard, 85, 132
Merolla, 120
Merriam, 66
Michelet, 14
Milloni, de, 75
Milne, 70
Moggridge, 196
Monroe, 3, 182
Moody, 72
Mooney, 97, 126, 127, 175, 217
Morelet, 185

Morgan, 12, 18, 24, 28, 59, 78, 79,
98, 217
Mucke, 101
Murdoch, 39, 97, 180

N

Nadaillac, 75
Nansen, 97, 107
Nassau, 127
Nelson, 41, 100, 121, 129, 151,
180, 186
Niblock, 98
Nicholas, 62
Noguchi, 217
Northcote, 88

O

Okuma, 172

P

Palmer, 98
Park, 51
Parkinson, 127, 137, 197, 198
Parsons, 22, 50, 94, 109, 129, 148,
180, 182
Pater, 70
Paulitschke, 102
Payne, 78, 79
Pearson, 79
Peary, 37
Pector, 47, 198, 205
Perez, 92
Peschel, 27, 77
Pestalozzi, 4
Pfeil, 152, 158
Pfoundes, 119
Phillips, 16
Piludski, 127
Pinkerton, 121, 210
Ploss, 70, 77, 94, 95, 108, 109, 114,
115, 118, 121, 122, 127, 129, 132,
151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 158, 180,
182, 187, 191, 192, 194, 210, 217,
218
Pommerol, 97
Pope Leo XIII., 14
Posada, 18
Post, 29, 56, 59, 102, 129
Powell, 57, 186
Powers, 26, 47, 133, 156, 198, 219

Pratt, 101, 108, 109, 180
Preuss, 75
Proyart, 108, 154
Purvis, 30, 47, 87, 119, 189, 217

R

Rampal, 116
Rasmussen, 38, 66, 68, 98, 115,
132
Ratzel, 41, 42, 45, 62, 97, 98, 110,
120, 126, 151, 163, 180, 217
Reclus, 40, 94, 97, 109, 121, 219
Reeder, 22
Reid, 193, 220
Renz, 97
Richter, Jean Paul, 107
Riedel, 89
Riggs, 180
Rivers, 29, 40, 60
Rivet, 46, 62, 156, 163
Robinson, 95, 106
Roscoe, 127
Ross, 123
Rossbach, 75
Roth, 22, 27, 40, 47, 76, 77, 97,
125, 129, 157, 197, 198
Rousseau, 118
Rowney, 40

S

St. John, 117, 157
Sarasin, 132
Saumade, 116
Schäffle, 14
Schmidt, 129, 180
Schrader, 14, 44, 48, 81, 85, 116,
126, 129
Schurtz, 221
Schweinfurth, 182
Seligmann, 127, 191
Semon, 28, 94, 105, 153, 205
Shakespeare, 40
Sheane, 196
Short, 180
Sieroshevsky, 73, 82, 117, 120,
123, 135
Simkhowitsch, 191
Simon, 53, 88
Skeat, 68, 197
Skeat and Blagden, 69, 97, 107,
127, 178

Smith, Adam, 136
 Smith, A. D., 47, 109
 Smith, A. H., 116, 121, 125, 132
 Smith, E. R., 160
 Smith, W. R., 58, 85
 Smyth, 46, 73, 97, 155
 Solatoroff, 14
 Somerville, 198
 Spencer, B., 72, 175
 Spencer and Gillen, 28, 97, 107,
 125, 127, 129, 146, 180, 182,
 185, 205
 Spencer, F. C., 180, 183, 203
 Spencer, H., 14, 44, 132, 146, 148,
 190
 Spiegel, 100
 Spix and Martius, 112, 132, 155,
 195, 198
 Sproat, 156
 Stammier, 129
 Starcke, 18, 27, 44, 57, 94, 100
 Starr, 194
 Stein, 25
 Steinen, von den, 97, 132
 Steinmetz, 14, 56, 92, 100, 109,
 113, 133, 148, 172
 Stevenson, Mrs. M. C., 97, 203,
 213, 220
 Stevenson, R. L., 98, 99, 157
 Storck, 217
 Sumner, 18, 21, 25, 27, 52, 56, 94,
 115, 129, 192
 Sutherland, 13, 46, 94, 108, 109,
 124, 129, 162, 180
 Swanton, 8
 Swedenborg, 84
 Swift, 109, 180

T

Talbot, 119
 Tate, 47, 197
 Teit, 151, 197
 Thal, 29
 Theal, 180, 184, 187
 Thomas, C., 45
 Thomas, N. W., 30, 56, 78, 81, 97
 Thomson, 47, 129
 Thouar, 132

Thunberg, 184
 Thurnwald, 70, 109
 Thurston, 77, 127
 Tomel and Rollet, 137
 Torday and Joyce, 46, 60, 182,
 197
 Tout, 67, 167, 195
 Turner, 97, 187
 Twain, 121
 Tylor, 48, 68, 77, 85, 98, 128, 131,
 132, 172, 210, 214

V

Volz, 113
 Von Troil, 108

W

Waitz, 79
 Wake, 27, 29, 56, 64, 78, 84, 85,
 94, 98, 129, 172
 Wallace, 108, 114, 153
 Wallaschek, 217
 Ward, 9
 Webster, 62, 197, 198, 200
 Weeks, 57
 Werner, 62, 118, 127
 Westermarck, 13, 22, 23, 27, 29,
 100
 Whyte, 27
 Williams and Calvert, 25, 48, 52,
 62, 114, 125, 128, 129, 131, 153,
 158, 163, 168, 189, 217
 Williams, Talcott, 7
 Worms, 14
 Wundt, 32
 Wuttke, 45, 102, 129, 132, 154

Y

Yeats, 71, 214

Z

Zaborowski, 197
 Zangwill, 123
 Zenker, 14

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



128 879

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY